

NORTHERN CRITIGISM

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CRITIGISM

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# Criticism of Abraham Lincoln

## Northern Criticism

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the  
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*2d. Brien*

*February 7, 1861*

Did we not find the following in a northern Republican paper, we should be inclined to think it was a forgery. It ought to be a forgery, most assuredly.

If these are Mr. LINCOLN's views on JOHN BROWN raids, and the submission to law and observance of court decisions, it is folly to look for any thing but the worst of times during his administration. It is most unfortunate that he did not in this as in other cases, *hold his peace*. Such a man should speak very seldom, and act never. We are pained to see this letter, as it accounts fully for the previously unaccountable doings of LINCOLN's friends in the Illinois Legislature, sitting in Springfield, and the editorials that appear from time to time in his *home organ*. Mr. LINCOLN, we fear, is a dead failure, and we deeply regret it:

[From the Charleston Mercury, Jan. 30th.]

**Abraham Lincoln on the John Brown Raid and Dred Scott Decision.**

LETTER FROM THE ABOLITION PRESIDENT ELECT.

WHEELING, Va., Jan. 12, 1861.

To the Editor of the Charleston Mercury:—Enclosed I send you a copy of a letter of mine, to the President elect, and his reply. You are at liberty to make any disposition of them you may deem proper.

Yours, &c., J. A. SPENCER.

WHEELING, Va., Dec. 24, 1861.

Hon. A. LINCOLN—*Dear Sir*: I hope you will not deem it presumptuous in me, in thus demanding from you a plain reply to the following interrogations, and moreover that you will give me the permission to give publicity to your answer, should I desire to do so.

1st. Had the jurisdiction of the crime committed by John Brown and *als.* been surrendered to the Federal Government, and judgment delayed to the fourth of March next, would you have exercised the pardoning power?

2d. Do you regard the *Dred Scott* decision as binding on the people of the North?

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain, truly yours, &c., J. A. SPENCER.

SPRINGFIELD, Jan. 2, 1861.

J. A. SPENCER, Esq.—*Sir*:—I had resolved in my mind to reply to no letters addressed to me from any one, concerning the manifold questions that have of late gained a footing in our distracted country. But as I have frequently had the same interrogatories propounded to me by others, and as your letter seems to be dictated in a spirit of kindness, seeking information only, I have concluded for the present to waive my resolve and reply, giving you permission to dispose of my answer as you see fit.

You ask: "Had the jurisdiction of the crime committed by Brown and others been surrendered to the Federal Government, and judgment thereon delayed until the 4th of March next, would you (I) have exercised the pardoning power?" I answer: I have carefully reviewed the testimony in said case, and in my opinion Brown committed no offence against the General Government meriting such severe punishment as he received. The most he committed against the Federal Government was a gross misdemeanor. Had I been the Governor of your State, I might have pursued the course he did. Yet even then there were strong mitigating circumstances. Brown was no doubt a monomaniac on the subject of negro slavery, and as such close confinement would have been more in accordance with the dictates of justice.

To your second, I reply in the negative, for this reason: said decision is hostile to the advancement of Republican principles, and therefore attended with danger in a government like ours.

Hoping the above will prove satisfactory, I am, sir, your obed't servant,  
(Signed,) A. LINCOLN.



The Crisis

February 14, 1861

**THAT FORGED LETTER.**—The letter purporting to be addressed by Mr. Lincoln to J. A. Spencer of Wheeling, Va., has already been pronounced a forgery by Mr. Lincoln. The *Wheeling Intelligencer* also says that there is no J. A. Spencer in that city!

Will Colonel Medary publish the above or a similar item in his next issue of *THE CRISIS*?—*O. S. Journal*.

Most cheerfully do we publish the above. We stated when we published the letter that it *ought to be a forgery*, and should have so pronounced it at a risk, had we not found it in a LINCOLN paper. The whole press of the country should combine against these wicked falsehoods and forgeries that float like mist from bogs of miasma over the whole country.

God knows the truths crowding upon us are bad enough. They ought to satisfy the most greedy for sensation items. But the falsehoods and exaggerations mixed up with them, render it almost impossible to winnow the chaff from the grain.

Our desire is to do strict justice as to facts, but speak with a freedom and independence that knows no fear but the fear of doing wrong, and hold the "mirror up to nature" that its true lineaments may be traced by the least skillful eye.

We were shocked on reading the letter because we are well aware how small a spark may set the world on fire. In a country where every man is his own master, and every mind is directed in the unrestricted license of our established freedom, the highest boast of our institutions, it is of the utmost importance that every word should be well considered before spoken, in this hour of sensitiveness.

TERMS—Two Dollars per year, invariably in advance.

OFFICE—Corner Gay and High Streets.

COLUMBUS:

Thursday, - - - February 14, 1861.

### Mr. Vallandigham's Proposition.

It will be seen by the Congressional proceeding of yesterday that the member from the fourth district proposes to amend the Constitution by dividing the United States into four sections. For years Mr. Vallandigham has been trying to persuade the people that he was "a national man," but it seems that he is intensely sectional. The people are not yet prepared to give up the union of these States with all its glorious associations, because a few mad-caps at the South can not make slavery national. There is, moreover, no antagonism of interests between the East and the West, as Mr. Vallandigham's proposition presupposes. The only source of trouble in this country has been the slavery question, and when that is out of the way, the balance of the States can live in harmony and peace without difficulty.

There is one point in Mr. V.'s proposition which needs explanation, and that is why the Constitution should be amended to affect the object he aims at. *Should there be four confederacies, as he seems to desire, why should the Constitution be amended to effect that purpose? It seems to us that if the people of the States desired to form the confederacies he proposes, they could do it without an amendment to the Constitution—or does Mr. Vallandigham propose his plan as something in the nature of an enabling act? The proposition is nothing less than an act of treason against the Constitution, which Mr. Vallandigham has sworn to support, and is much worse than Southern treason against the Government, because there is no excuse for it.*—Ohio State Journal, of Feb. 9th.

The above is not very clear as the parts we have italicized show—except it is that the *Journal* is gratified at the idea of a Northern Confederacy by getting rid of the South, and is willing for two confederacies but does not like the idea of four, as proposed by Mr. VALLANDIGHAM. The difference seems only to be as to numbers, and that is a matter of taste, probably, more than anything else.—But how the *Journal* makes out, in its own mind, that it is patriotism to favor two confederacies, but treason to advocate four, we can not tell. We find nothing of that sort in Mr. GARFIELD'S bill defining treason!

The only idea we can gather from this article from the *Journal*, to sustain its very extraordinary notion is, that as the South has reason to secede, therefore it is not treason—but as there is no reason for Mr. VALLANDIGHAM'S proposition, therefore it is treason! There may be something in this to satisfy the *Journal* in abandoning the South and going for a separate Northern confederacy, but it does not follow that the seventeen free States can unite in one confederacy after the Republicans have driven off fifteen of the original number, by giving them cause to go!

We shall, evidently, very soon get at the merits of this question. We see very clear signs here, that if the Republicans find that the Northern, Western and Pacific States can not be united in one government, if the fifteen Southern States are forced out of the Union

for cause, they will soon come to terms on a compromise, and as Mr. SEWARD says: "if the Union is in danger and is to be saved," mark the expression, then all platforms must be thrown overboard and the work accomplished. But Mr. SEWARD leaves it with an "if," as though the question was still remote and in doubt.

Now, Mr. VALLANDIGHAM has touched the quick, and opened up a new occasion for the cry of treason. It opens up the "if to be saved" feature of the diabolical Northern plan of driving the South out of the Union, and then seizing upon the west as a heritage for the schemers who favor a union with Canada and a half-British protectorate over us. These Republican managers must have a very poor opinion of the western people, if they suppose that they will bite like a hungry fish at every North-eastern bait thrown out to them. You mistake one half the men who voted for LINCOLN and all those who did not vote for him, if you expect to accomplish any such thing. The old JACKSON spirit of hostility to British complications burns with undiminished ardor in Western hearts, and when the occasion arises for

great carnage—the flag that floats over the tombs of our heroes and kisses the morning and evening breezes that waft along the shores of the two great oceans.

If we must come to a dismemberment, then we will choose for ourselves what we shall do and what is the best for our future. But we have no disposition to dwell upon that feature of the subject until all efforts are exhausted, in urging the Republicans to be men for once, and step forward and heal the breach now widening every day. If they will not, but obstinately refuse to save the country, when it is in their power to do so—and they are determined to have two confederacies, then we shall meet them in open conflict and show as plainly and kindly as we can, that they are wholly mistaken in the possibility of two confederacies, such as they would give. The material lies all round us to show that. We say now, that if the conduct of the Republicans is caused by the hope that the great valley drained by the Mississippi will ever put itself under the keeping of New England and the Canadian Provinces, they might as well relieve themselves of that fallacy first as last. It is not worth spending breath upon, and need deceive no one—not even the New York *Herald* or the New York merchants, who seem to flatter themselves, at times, with such a finality.

Let Mr. LINCOLN try his Northern Confederacy, and before his term is half out it will smash up like a rickety vehicle falling a thousand feet over a rocky precipice.



# LETTER FROM KENTUCKY.

[Written for The Crisis.]

TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States:

You are a native-born Kentuckian—your heart must indeed be callous and your sensibilities hardened if you feel no pride nor affection for the Commonwealth that gave you birth. Upon the same soil were we brought into being and although voluntary expatriation has made you a citizen of a sister State, there are ties which should yet bind you to Kentucky. There are duties which you yet owe to our Commonwealth, and in this day of the delirium of excitement, in the name of a great State I appeal to your prudence, your patriotism, your reason and to that allegiance which in years gone by you owed to the Commonwealth of your nativity.

You are nominally the President of the United States, in reality the President of the non-slaveholding portion of the late Union. Under your administration a new Republic has arisen upon our soil—the Union is dissolved—it is useless farther to disguise the fact that we are no longer an united nation. A year ago, and we were a harmonious and powerful people, proud of our past history and glorying in the common promise of a magnificent future; one turn of the political hour-glass—the ushering out of our Administration and the inauguration of another, and we stand gazing sadly at a strange ensign floating out against the Carolina sky. It bears the colors of our nation's flag, but there are stripes and stars obscured—amid the smoke and hail of battle, we have seen the banner of "the Stars and Stripes" so long floating proudly over land and victorious upon the sea, lowered to this strange intruder amongst the ensigns of national distinction. While your Administration at Washington in its attempt to regain lost territory is violent and aggressive, the Administration at Montgomery in the new era of its inaugurated existence is reckless and defiant. While your Cabinet at Washington are fanatics, the Cabinet at Montgomery are adventurers, and to settle the question of supremacy between Mr. Jefferson Davis and you Mr. Abraham Lincoln, the country must be plunged into civil war and millions of men arrayed in arms eager to stain with a brother's life-blood the soil of a common country. Commerce must be overthrown, manufactures languish, property be destroyed, cities laid in ashes, homes made desolate, and the American Republic, now the envy and marvel of the empires of the world, become the spoil and sport of its hereditary foe.

And for what? Aye, sir! ask yourself for what. Because you have been elected as the exponent and representative of a party, avowedly hostile to the institutions of our people—because with a recreancy that humiliates the land of your birth, you have waged an unholy crusade against a condition of society that is to us a necessity—because wrapt in blind egotism and influenced by selfish fear, you have spurned counsels of conciliation and peace and with a love of party greater than a love of country, preferred to hurl the nation into ruin rather than abate one iota of your fanatical allegiance to the principles which placed you into power. Is it not humiliating to your self-love, to feel that it is your election which has caused this ruin? Is it not degrading to yourself respect to know that instead of healing your country's wound you have inflicted upon her new ones more terrible. You are the first President ever inaugurated environed with bayonet and cannon and protected by the armed paucity of war—the first whose power has been successfully de-

fied and under whose Administration the flag of our country has been trampled upon and insulted by citizens of the Republic.

Instead of being the President of a mighty Union bound together by the cohesive power of fraternal love, the first tidings of your election as it flashed along the wires, waked a wild storm of hatred and revolt. The States are dissevered, discordant and beligerent; one by one as the voice of their people was heard above the tumult, have they dropped away from around a desecrated altar—and with the stern pride of men determined to be free upon the ruins of the late Republic, built for themselves a new altar and another union.

And what now mean the masses of soldiery occupying our Capitol? What means the pollution of the White House with armed men, placed there by your unmanly fears? What mean the gigantic preparations for war in progress? What mean your violations of the Constitution and usurpations of undelegated power? Take care! the people may for a while be wrong, but when the returning tide of patriotism and reason shall come surging back in its untrammelled majesty—when there shall arise amongst the people a sense of fear for their own liberties, your fiercest adherents will blench before the storm and consult their own safety in the surrender of their leader. *The doom pronounced against an usurper, by an outraged people is terrible beyond expression!*

But do you expect to subjugate the South? Do you dream of holding her in allegiance a conquered province, by the strong arm of military power? Would you cement a broken Union with the blood of its best and bravest? As long as you maintain a position of defiance, Kentucky loyal to the Constitution—not as interpreted by your party but as it is, will discharge faithfully all of her constitutional obligations—commence a war of subjugation and extermination and fifty thousand Kentucky rifles will echo back the music of death and battle. I tell you, sir, the South can never be coerced back into the Union—war will but destroy all hopes of re-construction; you may blockade the ports, you may destroy her cities, you may lay waste her territory and desolate her hearth-stones, but every defile will be full of desperate men and every swamp the camp of a guerrilla band. The history of our people should tell you that they may be exterminated, but conquered never! They were born free, have lived free, and if free governments must pass away from man, will die free, and liberty and life pass out together. When the spirit of the South shall yield to power her land will be a desert and her soil a charnel house in which shall lie the last of her slaughtered sons. And think you, President Lincoln, how many of their oppressors will bear them company in this bloody sleep?

More earnestly and unflinchingly than yourself have I clung to the Union of our Fathers. A year ago I saw the coming storm, and disregarding all political aspiration and selfish purpose, went out amongst the people to avert its horrors. The distinguished Senator from Illinois was beaten—you triumphed—and as the result of that triumph the Union is dissolved. With the devotion of unwavering patriotism I can only hope for its reconstruction. I see no future for us as a divided people, and to the constitution under which I was born and reared I still cling with a love that knows no variableness nor shadow of turning. But it is useless now to speak of causes—the evil is upon us—crimination and re-ermination were wicked folly. The man who cannot now banish all party feeling from his heart is a despicable wretch whom 'twere base flattery to call a traitor. It only remains, as far as in our power lies, to remedy the evils which have been inflicted upon our unhappy country and heal the wounds she has received. The task is difficult but it can be done; it involves your political suicide, but what is such a suicide to the immortality of history and the gratitude of uncounted generations?

But you are filled with the delusion that in making war upon the seceded States, you are upholding the majesty of the Constitution—that you are discharging a stern and an imperative duty, in maintaining the supremacy of the law—that in obedience to the obligations of your oath, you are crushing rebellion against the legitimate authority of the general government. By what process of legal reasoning do you arrive at these conclusions? The provisions of the Constitution beyond the strict letter of which you have no power to go, but which you are daily and hourly disregarding, provide means and point out the mode, in which the laws of the Republic are to be enforced. This is a civil government of defined and limited powers—not a military despotism. You are but an executive officer, acting in concert with Congress, both subordinate to and co-ordinate with the judicial power. If the laws of the United States be violated, you have no power by a violation of the Constitution to usurp the functions of both the legislative and judiciary. Courts were instituted to take cognizance of violations of the law; if they fail to discharge their duty, by what authority do you issue a mandamus against a State in the shape of Minnie rifles and ten-inch columbiads? The Supreme Court of the United States has but lately decided that it has no power to issue a mandamus against the Governor of a State, compelling him to discharge his constitutional duties. There was a violation of the Constitution by the Governor of Ohio—open defiance to the decision of the highest judicial tribunal of the land; and here an appeal to the courts failed of practical redress. Where then was your lofty patriotism and fierce determination to maintain the authority of the Constitution? By the principles you now assume, you should have marched a Federal army into Ohio and made Gov. Dennison's neck pay forfeit to the outraged majesty of violated law. But your whole conception of the theory of our government is essentially erroneous. Your promises are false and your conclusions wrong, utterly and unpardonably wrong. You have no power except in times of foreign war or cases of resistance to the decrees of a Federal court, to quarter one soldier or send one gun within the limits of a State unless upon the application from its Governor or from its legislature if that body be in session.

But you scout at all legal powers. You are waging what your adherents term "a war of freedom"—and I tell you, sir, the hour will come when a mighty nation in the travail of its final dissolution will curse you as the author of its ruin—curse you, not as a bold and ambitious usurper, but as a weak, vain fanatic, swayed by the unprincipled counsels of irresponsible and desperate men.

How often have we heard the cry of disunion from the North? What were the threats of New England in the war of 1812? She is ready now to drain treasure and pour out blood in a war upon the South, but with strict adherence to the spirit of her past—she was then an enemy in our midst, burning blue lights to guide the vessels of a foreign foe, and threatening treason at the very foot of the Presidential chair! Where are the Fremont flags of '56? Why is it that the flag of fifteen stars is more hateful in your eyes than the flag of sixteen? Had the South any less power to form herself into a new republic than the North? Yet the men who but little more than four years ago bore this ensign of disunion, who declared the Constitution "a covenant with death and a league with hell"—who openly repudiated and defied the decisions of the Supreme Court, are now blatant in their new fledged patriotism; instead of bearing the Fremont flag, they now pollute the "Stars and Stripes" with the infamy of their allegiance, and hang upon the doorposts of those who dare to be yet loyal and patriotic, a halter, with "death and a rope for traitors." A new light has dawned upon their darkened vision, and their despicable cowardice made bold by numbers, not daring to brave the brunt of battle with those whom they revile, vents itself in midnight insults and vaunts itself in contemptible bravado.



But, sir, right or wrong, you have gone into this war. Hereafter, if I can still find journals in the North, bold enough and independent enough to publish what I write, I shall discuss every act of your Administration, as well as the tergiversations of your past. And now, sir, let me tell you what this State, the land of your birth, demands—a state that in ten days can throw an hundred thousand men across the border. I have a right to speak of her opinions, for I am one of the strongest of her Union men. This war is not of her making—she had no hand in its origin, she will have none in its prosecution. Our soil must be sacred from the armies of either side—if you must fight beyond our borders and leave us undisturbed—issue your paper blockades but expect no obedience to them at our ports. We are bound to the South by sympathy—a common institution and a common interest—by ties of blood and affection, and by the ligaments of nature's landmarks. We are bound to the North as members of the same Union, by the traditions of the past, and by our fealty to the Constitution, disregarded and violated though it be. We have appealed to both sections and appealed in vain; they are bent on fratricidal war, and both sides having disregarded our counsels must expect from us no aid. As a neutral we shall still maintain our relations with the North and with the South. We shall leave no course untaken that may promise a restoration of order and a reconstruction of the now broken Union. Both sides must respect this position. It is not the craven torpor of fear nor the calculating timidity of interest. It is the inaction of patriotism, disheartened and sick at the wild lawlessness which has seized upon our sister States. It is the off-spring of calm courage and a lofty self-reliance, induced by an unwillingness to stain our soil and pollute our glory in the mad carnival of blood.

But take care how you presume upon our forbearance! Take care how you test our patriotism! Your journals tell us it is fear that keeps us quiet—that fields are unharvested and meadows unmown—because we dare not trust the implements of husbandry in the hands of our slaves. The slaves themselves laugh in scorn at so contemptible a lie. Events are fast forcing us to believe that this is a war of hatred—that you are but carrying out the principles of the Chicago platform—that you have seized upon the present as an occasion for an abolition crusade. Whenever this is clear, count Kentucky as your enemy—and when that time shall come her people will be an unit—all the considerations that now counsel neutrality will then impel attack—all lingering love for the people of the North will have passed away, and history records no war so terrible in its effects, so rancorous in its hatred, as that of whose inauguration you bear the humiliating infamy. With you, and with you alone now rests the responsibility.

KENTUCKIAN.

Lexington, Ky., May 22, 1861.



## What Abraham Lincoln has Done.

When Mr. Lincoln delivered his Inaugural Address, in Washington City, on the 4th day of last March, he said he had a "solemn oath registered in Heaven," "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

As "it is the right and duty of citizens to inquire into the acts, motives and policy of their public agents;" therefore, let us examine the public acts of Mr. Lincoln, and ascertain whether he is rigidly adhering to the strict letter of the Constitution, or is a most damnably perjured, god forsaken man.

1st. He has undertaken to provide "for the common defense and general welfare," when that duty devolves on Congress, according to Art. I, Sec. 8, Clause 1, of the Constitution.

2d. He has "borrowed money on the credit of the United States," when the Constitution (Art. I, Sec. 8, Clause 2.) gives Congress that power.

3d. He has made "war, and made rules concerning captures on land and water," but the Constitution (Art. I, Sec. 8, Clause 11.) gives Congress that right.

4th. He is now raising and supporting armies, and appropriating money for that purpose, but the Constitution (Art. I, Sec. 8, Clause 12,) gives Congress that power.

5th. He has usurped the power of Congress to provide and maintain a navy, (Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, Clause 13.)

6th. His will constitutes the rules of the government and regulation of the land and naval forces; although the Constitution makes it the duty of Congress. (Art I, Sec. 8, Clause 14.)

7th. He has called forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasion, when it is the duty of Congress. (Constitution Art. I, Sec. 8, Clause 15.)

8th. He is organizing, "arming and disciplining the militia, and governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States;" a power conferred on Congress by the Constitution. (Art I, Sec. 8, Clause 16.)

All of the foregoing powers are by the Constitution, itself, declared to be vested in the Congress of the United States; yet Mr. Lincoln, notwithstanding his "solemn oath registered in Heaven" "to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," has, most egregiously, violated every one of the above mentioned clauses of the Constitution, and, therefore, with base tyranny he has meanly and boldly usurped the legislative power of the Government, through which the VOICE of the people is heard, and thereby he has completely transformed our Government into a most degraded form of despotism by rendering it wholly and solely a Government of ONE MAN POWER.

Not only this, but yet more: he has, with iron will, usurped the power of suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, which for more than one hundred years has been regarded, even under the monarchial governments of down trodden Europe as the "great bulwark of human liberty." A power which, according to the Constitution (Art. I, Sec. 9,) can only be exercised by Congress. "When in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." And remember that even in such "cases," for which the Constitution provides, Congress alone has power to suspend "the privilege of the writ, for the Constitution does not give that body politic any right or authority to confer the power of suspending the writ upon any man, or set of men; Art. I, Sec. 9, Clause 1, of our once sacred, but now down-trodden, Constitution gives a legislative power to be exercised by Congress because it is found among the enumerated provisions of the Constitution under the legislative power—conferred by that instrument upon the legislative branch of the Federal Government.

The framers of the Constitution met in convention in 1787, with Washington, the Father of his Country, as their President, just after passing through a bloody revolutionary war of eight years, during which they endured innumerable hardships and distressing privations unparalleled in the history of warfare; and therefore we may safely presume that they, with all their long bitter experience, knew the most urgent necessities of war, as well, perhaps, as our neighbor Republicans or even Mr. Lincoln himself. The framers of the Constitution, with all their wisdom resulting from life-long study and the experience of a long and bloody war, and with all that war's necessities, never conceived the idea of giving the President the dangerous power of declaring war, arming and disciplining the militia, borrowing money without previous authority from Congress, and suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* and other powers and privileges which Mr. Lincoln has obviously usurped. No, never! but with that wisdom for which they were so remarkable they looked to the history of the Old World, and in every epoch of that history, embracing six thousand

and years, no ruler ever exercised the power over any Government, in any case whatsoever, which Mr. Lincoln is now usurping and exercising over our unfortunate country, who did not rule over a horde of slaves. Therefore, after our forefathers had contended for eight years on the bloody field of battle for rights dearer to them than life, it should not seem strange that they were jealous of the powers conferred upon the President, and that they were also careful to guard their and our rights by Constitutional restraints, by giving the dangerous powers necessary for carrying on war to the representatives of the people.

The framers of the Constitution saw proper to distribute the powers of the Federal Government to three separate, distinct, co-equal and co-ordinate branches, Legislative, Executive and Judicial, in such manner and form that the power of one branch would act as a restraint upon the others, thus distributing the powers of the Government in such manner that those three branches should restrain and be restrained by each other, upon the same grand and lofty principles which Almighty God promulgated in the birthday of creation, and which holds the planets of the universe in their proper sphere. In addition to the Federal Government, we have our State Governments, each sovereign within itself; likewise divided into three separate, distinct, co-equal and co-ordinate branches—Legislative, Executive and Judicial—satellites to the same powers of the Federal Government, yet distinct and separate therefrom. Now we have only to look to Kentucky and Missouri to see what else Mr. Lincoln has done, and we shall find that he has not only, as an Executive Officer, usurped the Legislative power of the government; not only usurped the Executive power of the government, but more—the unholy tyrant does more; he is usurping both State and Federal sovereignty—blending, uniting and centralizing into one branch of the Federal Government, over which he presides, all the power of National and State sovereignty, and completely carrying out the doctrine of consolidation, destroying and obliterating State sovereignty, and is grasping in his hand the chains which will hold in slavery American freemen. Let the American people shake off the stupor and fanaticism which clings to them like a vine to the branch, and rise in the majesty of their power as one man, and through the ballot box tell Mr. Lincoln, in tones of thunder, to stay the grasping hand of tyranny. Thank God, there is yet a Democratic party. And though the war shriekers, taking advantage of the martial spirit of our countrymen, have overwhelmed it for the time with the darkness of fanaticism, yet, when the sober second thought shall return to the masses, their bold indignant condemnation, like the fierce rushing of the most violent hurricane, will sweep the usurper, Lincoln, and his treasonable clique of rotten abolitionists forever into the shades of political nonentity.

A JACKSON COUNTY DEMOCRAT.





## Can the Union be Restored?

It is useless to ignore facts, and to refuse to look things, which are inevitable, in the face; no good can come of deceiving ourselves with vain expectations, or exciting in the minds of others hopes that can never be realized. For myself, I can truly say, that no heart in all this land would rejoice more exceedingly than mine, if the ancient Union of the States could be restored upon the same or kindred principles to those upon which that Union was originally formed. To effect this great object, in which the happiness of so many millions of human beings is involved, I would freely surrender my life—more than which no man can give.—But I know that a reconstruction of the Union is impossible—that it cannot be effected either by the eloquence or *compromising* spirit of statesmen, however potent they may have been in past times, to still the waves of popular excitement, and bring harmony out of discord.

When Abraham Lincoln was sworn into office as President of the United States, the destinies of a great nation were placed in his hands—such a trust—one of such awful magnitude, no man ever received from the hands of God. If he had been *honest, capable, and loyal* to the core of his heart, to his country, and to his countrymen, North and South, East and West, that cloud which had commenced to gather in the South, so portentous of evil to this great nation, could have been dispelled—it would have yielded, not, perhaps, at once, but gradually and surely, and been blown away by the winds, in consequence of receiving no acrobations of strength from the border States. But Abraham Lincoln was neither honest, capable, nor loyal to his country and his countrymen in all sections. His petty soul was not large enough to entertain that sentiment which a distinguished statesman once proclaimed, "I know no North, no South, no East, no West, but my country." He never realized, notwithstanding his assumption of sovereignty over the Southern States, that he was President of a great nation, including within itself, thirty-four *independent sovereignties*, whose great boundaries were the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. But he did realize that he had been elected to office by a *sectional* party, without having received an electoral vote from a Southern State, but few individual votes from any of those States, and by a minority vote of the American people. These facts were graven deeply upon his small soul—they were of a nature to make the deepest impression upon the shallow minds of just such *base pretenders* to greatness as Abraham Lincoln—men whose loves and hatreds have no foundation in principle, but proceed from passion alone, who can never forgive an honest difference of opinion, because incapable of thought themselves, they know nothing of the conflicts of opinion which more thoughtful minds undergo. The South, the whole South, was his enemy, which he was bound, without regard to his oath of office, to persecute, and if possible, destroy. The *Abolition party* of the North was his friend, for whose benefit, and according to whose pleasure, he determined to administer the government, without regard to constitutional restraints. In order to consummate his atrocious scheme of vengeance, and of party favoritism, at the same time, it was necessary for him to devise some means of getting rid of at least six of the Southern States which had remained, and promised to continue loyal to the Union in spite of all the injuries which they had received at the hands of Northern abolitionists, through a long series of years, and in spite of the election of Lincoln himself. To this end,

with a devilish cunning of which Caesar Borgia might have been proud, he proclaims his intention for more than two weeks in advance, to withdraw the United States troops from Forts Sumter and Pickens—a measure of prudence and wisdom at which the whole country rejoiced, including the conservative men of the Republican party, as one calculated to confirm the allegiance of the Border States, and ultimately bring back the Gulf States into the Union; and then as if to exasperate those States in which the forts are situated to the greatest possible extent, and render collision between the United States and State forces inevitable, he suddenly announces his intention to provision and re-inforce those forts. The result was as he had foreseen, as all men knew it would be—Fort Sumter was stormed and taken. This was the beginning of the war—the pretext for calling into the field seventy-five thousand men, without the least authority for so doing, and in manifest violation of that constitution which not more than six weeks before he had sworn to support and defend.—If the North had refused to hearken to his "call," and resisted his plain usurpation of power, the States of Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina, would not have left us, and the Union would ultimately have been restored; for notwithstanding the indifference which the President had previously shown to their wishes and feelings, in the selection of Diplomatic and other officers, from men notoriously *hostile* to the South, rather than from the moderate and conservative men of his own party, they had remained firm, well knowing that he only exercised (though unwisely) his constitutional right. But when in violation of the plain letter and meaning of the constitution, he called upon the States to furnish him a large military force, and the North responded to his call with alacrity, no other alternative but resistance was left them, or else to see that instrument which was the palladium of their liberties stricken down, and trailed in the dust forever. They determined to resist his *power*, though backed by Northern armies, and who can wonder that they should have thus resolved.

In the Southern States the doctrine of State rights, became at an early period of our national history, a cardinal doctrine of

political faith among the people. It was taught in their political text books, in their seminaries of learning, by their press, and by their statesmen everywhere throughout the land. That the Northern States would at some future day, obtain the control of the government, was evident to all thoughtful men in the Southern division of the Union, and that the power acquired through superior numbers might be employed to oppress the South, and take away her rights, was at least to be dreaded, for irresponsible power is always dangerous, and that even written constitutions may be wrested from their true meaning, and perverted into engines of oppression, by giving to them forced and unnatural constructions, has been but too often demonstrated in our own political history. Hence it was, that the people in the Southern division of our Union, were forced to study the nature and extent of the powers conferred by them upon their respective *agents*, the Federal and State governments, to ascertain the exact limits or boundaries of power assigned to each, and the extent of those reserved by the people in the several States to themselves respectively. These were subjects of great magnitude and importance to the whole Southern people; for being in a minority both in Congress and the Electoral College, their rights were liable to invasion at any time, and they could only expect to maintain and defend them against Northern aggression by appeals to that instrument which was the only bond of union between the States, and contained *all* the powers which had ever been granted to the Federal government; or if this should fail, then by an appeal to arms, which could only be contemplated as a fearful necessity.

It ought not, therefore, to be matter of surprise to any one conversant with the history of the country, that southern statesmen have always watched with a jealous and suspicious eye every attempt to enlarge the powers of the Federal Government, by which

were termed liberal constructions of the Constitution; for they well knew that to the *honest* interpretation of that instrument alone, could they look for the maintenance and preservation of *their liberties*, without a resort to arms; and they knew, moreover, that if the Constitution was once violated for any purpose, or under any pretense whatsoever, that it would thenceforth cease to be a barrier between liberty and despotism. That a people thus educated, and trained to know their rights, and the dangers by which they were threatened, should look with great suspicion and alarm upon the election of a purely sectional President—the choice of a party whose only creed was hostility and hatred to the South—a party which had employed the legislation of the States to obstruct and impede constitutional laws enacted for the protection of Southern rights, who can wonder; and that this alarm should have been aggravated and increased by the declaration made by Mr. Lincoln himself, long before he was ever thought of for the Presidency, "that an irrepressible conflict existed between the North and the South, in which one or the other must, sooner or later, yield," was certainly most natural. What then, I ask all fair minded and generous men, was the course which reason, prudence and patriotism ought to have dictated to Mr. Lincoln, to pursue toward a people whose only fault was—if fault it can be called—a too jealous regard for their own liberties? He had been elected President of a great nation, whose proud boast it was, that while recognizing the restraints of law they were free men, and could claim freedom as their inheritance; could he not then afford to be magnanimous—to wield the power which God had placed in his hands in a spirit of forbearance, which would have taught the South that, though elected to office by a sectional party, he knew his duty to the whole country, and was prepared to discharge it according to the strict letter of the Constitution, and in spirit of even handed justice? He knew, too, or ought to have known, that the framers of the Constitution had *twice* refused to confer upon the Federal Government the power to make war upon a single State, no matter what circumstances of seeming necessity might exist; and that they, together with all the statesmen of the country, had declared that such war was disunion, now and forever. And yet, in spite of all the promptings of wisdom, the lessons imparted to him by statesmen, whose shoes he was not worthy to unlatch, and in defiance of that Constitution which he had sworn to defend, he dared to raise his parrioidal hand against his country—to sever the bond of union between the States, and, perchance, strike down our liberties forever. And we are even told by his partisans that it is treason to defend our Constitution against the merciless assaults of this bad man, and to cry out in our agony over a lost and ruined country—lost when it could have been so easily saved. Yes, patriotism is treason! It was treason in Algernon Sidney, John Hampden, Pym, Eliot, and Vane, and why should it not be treason in us?

I have said that the union of the States will never again be restored. Some of my reasons for this opinion have already been given. The southern States being in a minority, have been for a long time, naturally, and not without reason, apprehensive of the rapidly growing power of the free States; their institutions, notwithstanding that the strongest constitutional guarantees were thrown around them, have been wickedly and wantonly assailed, and unceasing effort has been made to overthrow them. They know, too, that the New England States have never hesitated to use the Federal Government to advance their own interests, without caring much whether the power which they invoked was constitutional or not. And they understand moreover that they have interest separate and distinct from those of the last named States, which may be, as they have been in former times, grievously oppressed, if not ruined, by being placed within their reach by a constitutional ligament, though forbidden thereby to touch them even with their little fingers. But what I conceive to be a greater cause of permanent disunion than all those which



I have mentioned, is the fact that two distinct forms of civilization (if by this term is meant the habits of feeling and thought of a people) have grown up in the northern and southern divisions of the United States, which must always render any closer bond of union than that which our fathers made impossible. It was the attempt to draw the

links of the chain which those wise men forged closer together than was ever designed, which caused them to snap asunder, and fall to pieces. So long as the Federal Government confined itself to the control of our foreign relations, for which alone it was created, there was no danger of disunion, however widely separated the States might be in interest and character; but the instant that an attempt was made to regulate through it the *domestic* affairs of the people within the several States, which was the province of the State Governments alone, we were brought to the brink of the precipice into which we have since fallen. The Union will never be restored because we have taught the South to distrust our respect for *Constitutions*, even as the Trojans distrusted the Greeks, *ferentes dona*. But let us not forget that we, ourselves, have liberties to protect and defend.

A CITIZEN.

The Courier July 11 1861



# Gen. Fremont and his Proclamation.

We stated on the receipt of Gen. FREMONT'S proclamation that it was impracticable, if not impolitic. It has unfortunately turned out to be both President LINCOLN found it necessary to reverse it.

This has revived the old abolition feeling, which we supposed had been pretty well mashed out by the Union move here and in other places, by the nomination of Democrats on the Administration tickets. In this hope, we fear we are to be disappointed, and all may yet have to be done over again.

We find in the Cincinnati papers the following very foolish, insulting and obtrusive letter, not only thrust upon the President, but into the newspapers, and we are informed that it is but one among hundreds that have been sent to the President of a similar character. It is a deliberate threat, that if the President and Cabinet persist in their course a new revolution may be expected. Not one from the South, but a rebellion in the North—a second rebellion against the authorities at Washington:

"No. 379 MAIN-STREET, CINCINNATI, OHIO, }  
Monday, September 16, 1861. }

"His Excellency, A. Lincoln, President of the United States:

"SIR: I regret the President's quasi condemnation of General Fremont's proclamation.

"General Fremont's position reflects faithfully the sentiments of the loyal people of the United States.

"The hour is urgent.

"By the law of nations, by the laws of Congress, by the law martial, and without a written or promulgated law, *ex necessitate rei*, Fremont is right, the President wrong.

"No loyal citizen receives harm by the liberation of a rebel's slave.

"I know the school in which General Fremont received his military education—its first and its last lesson inculcates subordination, obedience to superiors in command, and he (General Fremont) will obey, though the President requires an order countermanded.

"But I beg the President to remember in time, that a President is only the public servant of the loyal people. The voice of the loyal people of the United States will be heard in tones of thunder, if rebels are not promptly brought to a rebel's end.

"Presidents, Cabinets, capitals—all, all, are nothing, standing in the way of the mighty will of a loyal people, hurrying, with money, property, life, reputation, and sacred honor, to the suppression of a wicked rebellion.

"Shall the rebellion be suppressed, cost what it may of blood, of treasure, and of time?

"I will receive the President's answer,

"I have the honor to be your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant.

"JOHN W. CALDWELL."

Mr. CALDWELL is an aspiring politician, but we think not a prudent or a wise one.

Gen. FREMONT'S proclamation was, or should have been intended for practicable purposes, not to "reflect" "sentiments." What has a military commander to do with "reflecting sentiments" outside of his duties as a General? We are not making Presidents and carrying on an election.

started may burn up a great city.

Surely Mr. CALDWELL you would not put out fire by throwing upon it dry tow, shavings, grease and powder. Yet this seems to be your mode of proceeding.

Both the North and the South have passed laws to confiscate the property of each other. The very thing of all others in the way of war measures they should never have done; for whatever may be the end of this most unfortunate conflict, those confiscation acts will leave the longest scores to settle, unless the war ends in the utter extermination of one party or the other, which few believe or few desire shall be the result, and which foreign nations evidently will not permit if both parties here should attempt such a closing up of the sorrowful scene.

24. 1861  
October 3, 1861

OH, WHY SHOULD THE SPIRIT OF MOR-  
TAL BE PROUD?

BY PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN, OF ILLINOIS.

[A correspondent of *Zion's Advocate* (Maine) says the following was clipped from a paper printed there three years ago:]

Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud?  
Like a swift-fleeing meteor—a fast-flying cloud—  
A flash of the lightning—a break of the wave—  
He passeth from life to his rest in the grave.

The leaves of the oak and the willow will fade;  
Be scattered around and together be laid;  
As the young and the old, and the low and the high,  
Shall crumble to dust, and together shall lie.

The infant, a mother attended and loved—  
The mother, that infant's affection who proved—  
The father, that mother and infant who blessed—  
Each, all, are away to their dwelling of rest.

The maid, on whose brow, on whose cheek, in whose eye,  
Shone beauty and pleasure—her triumphs are by;  
And alike from the minds of the living erased  
Are the memories of mortals who loved her and praised.

The hand of the King, that the scepter hath borne,  
The brow of the Priest, that the mitre hath worn,  
The eye of the sage, and the heart of the brave,  
Are hidden and lost in the depths of the grave.

The peasant, whose lot was to sow and to reap,  
The herdsman, who climbed with his goats up the steep,  
The beggar who wandered in search of his bread,  
Have faded away like the grass that we tread.

So the multitude goes, like the flower of wood,  
That withers away to let others succeed;  
So the multitude comes, even those we behold,  
To repeat every tale that has often been told.

For we are the same our fathers have been,  
We see the same sights our fathers have seen,  
We drink the same stream, we see the same sun,  
And run the same course our fathers have run.

The thoughts we are thinking our fathers did think,  
From the death we are shrinking our fathers did shrink,  
To the life we are clinging our fathers did cling,  
But it speeds from us all like the bird on the wing.

They loved, but the story we can not unfold,  
They scorned, but the heart of the haughty is cold,  
They grieved—but no wail from their slumbers will come,  
They joyed—but the tongue of their gladness is dumb.

They died—ah! they died: we, things that are now—  
That walk on the turf that lies over their brow,  
And make in their dwellings a transient abode,  
Meet the things that they met on their pilgrimage road.

Yea, hope and despondency, pleasure and pain,  
Are mingled together in sunshine and rain,  
And the smile and the tear, and the song and the dirge,  
Still follow each other like surge upon surge.

'Tis the wink of an eye, 'tis the draught of a breath,  
From the blossom of health to the paleness of death,  
From the gilded saloon to the bier and the shroud—  
Oh! why should the spirit of mortal be proud?



**HIGHLY IMPORTANT DOCUMENT.**

**Charges and Specifications against Colonel Blair—Mrs. Fremont's Letter to President Lincoln—The President's Reply—General Fremont's Demand for Colonel Blair's Letter—Postmaster Blair's Answer—The Letter of Colonel Blair about General Fremont, &c., &c.**

During the past month the country has been disturbed by the unfriendly relations that have sprung up suddenly between Major General Fremont, Commander of the Western Division of the Army, and Col. Frank P. Blair, jr., of the First Regiment Missouri Volunteers, (light artillery.) The letter of Colonel Blair to Judge Blair, his brother, and Postmaster-General, was immediately brought before the President and the Cabinet, and a vigorous discussion ensued for the removal of General Fremont, but resulted in the postponement of such a decision for the present, the President and a majority of the Cabinet being unqualifiedly adverse to the removal.

Mrs. Fremont, who was in Washington at the time, received information of Colonel Blair's attack on General Fremont, and immediately wrote to the President requesting a copy of Colonel B.'s letter. The President declined to furnish Colonel Blair's letter, and in the same letter disclaimed any hostility to the General, or that any impression had been made on his mind against the honor or integrity of General Fremont. Gen. Fremont then telegraphed the President, requesting a copy of Colonel Blair's letter, and through Judge Montgomery Blair the letter of the Colonel was forwarded to Gen. Fremont, accompanied with a request that the Colonel should be released from arrest. The offer of release was extended to Colonel Blair, at the request of the Postmaster-General, but the Colonel declined the offer, and is now at Jefferson Barracks, awaiting the examination before a Court-Martial. The charges and specifications by General Fremont, with all the correspondence accompanying, we give below:

**FIRST CHARGE**—Conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman.

**Specification**—That said Colonel Frank P. Blair, while acting as Colonel of the First Regiment Missouri Light Artillery, then in the service of the United States, and in the Western Department thereof, did, at the city of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri, on divers occasions between the 1st and 20th day of September, 1861, speak of and concerning Major-General J. C. Fremont, who was then the Commanding General of said Department, in terms unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, assailing his personal and official character, charging him with inability and inefficiency; that said Blair used his position as a member of the military household of the Commanding General to give weight to his assaults.

**Second Specification**—That said Colonel Blair made secret charges against his said Commanding General in a letter which he wrote on the 1st day of September, 1861, to his brother Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General of the United States, one of the President's Cabinet officers, wherein he sought to effectuate the removal of said Commanding General. Said charges were made, not to the Secretary-of-War or to the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, but to the Postmaster-General, his brother; thus using his family relations with the Cabinet to get secret, insidious, unsustained and un-

gentlemanly charges against said Commanding General before the President of the United States, his purpose being to have appointed, without consultation with the military authorities, a Commissioner to investigate the affairs and management of said Western Department, to be directed by and to consist in part of the brother of said Col. Blair, the accuser.

That said vexatious and harrassing proceedings were calculated to, and did in part disturb the President's confidence in said Commanding General and the administration of the affairs of said Western Department.

That said Colonel Blair's course also impaired and paralyzed the efficiency of said Military Department.

**Third Specification**—That said Colonel Blair wrote said letters to his brother Mont-

**LETTER FROM MRS. FREMONT.**

To the President of the United States:

I was told yesterday by Mr. F. P. Blair, sr., that five days since a letter was received from his son, Col. Frank P. Blair, and laid before you by his son, Postmaster-General Blair, containing certain statements respecting General Fremont and his military command in the Western Department, which letter was submitted to you as President.

I was further told by Mr. Blair, that on that letter you sent Postmaster-General Blair to St. Louis to examine into that Department and report.

On behalf of, and as representing General Fremont, I have to request that I be furnished with copies of that letter, and any other communication, if any, which in your judgment have made that investigation necessary.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

[Signed] JESSE BENTON FREMONT.

**MRS. FREMONT'S SECOND NOTE TO THE PRESIDENT.**

Mrs. Fremont begs to know from the President if the answer to Gen. Fremont's letter can be given her without much further delay. Mrs. Fremont is anxious to return to her family, and takes the liberty of asking a reply by the messenger.

**THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.**

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 12, 1861.

MRS. GENERAL FREMONT—*My Dear Madam:* Your two letters of to-day are before me. I answered the letter you bore me from Gen. Fremont on yesterday, and not hearing from you during the day I sent the answer to him by mail.

It is not exactly correct, as you say you were told by the elder Mr. Blair, to say that I sent Postmaster General Blair to St. Louis to examine into that Department and report. Postmaster Gen. Blair did go, with my approbation, to see and converse with General Fremont as a friend. I do not feel authorized to furnish you with copies of letters in my possession, without the consent of the writers. No impression has been made on my mind against the honor or integrity of General Fremont, and I now entertain my protest against being understood as acting in any hostility toward him.

Your obedient servant,

[Signed.] A. LINCOLN.

**GEN. FREMONT TO THE PRESIDENT.**

September 17, 1861.

To the President of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

I respectfully request you to have furnished me a copy of the letter referred to in your letter to Mrs. Fremont, provided you have received the consent of the writer; and if you have not received that consent, I respectfully request you to have it procured. [Signed.] J. C. FREMONT.

Major General Commanding.

**POSTMASTER BLAIR'S LETTER TO GENERAL FREMONT.**

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 19, 1861.

General Fremont, Major General Commanding: I will send Frank's letter. It is not unfriendly. Release him. He should have no difficulty existing with the public. [Signed.] M. BLAIR.

Postmaster General.

**COLONEL BLAIR'S LETTER TO POSTMASTER BLAIR.**

St. Louis, Sept. 1, 1861.

DEAR JUDGE: I wrote you quite fully about our affairs here by Judge Gamble, and I am more and more convinced of the views I stated to you in that letter. Affairs are becoming quite alarming in the northern part of the State, as well as in the South.—Men coming here to give information are not allowed to approach Fremont, and go away in disgust.

I have felt it my duty to tell him what they say, and he throws himself behind the reports of his officers, who are trying to prevaricate and shield themselves for neglect of duty, and he still clings to them, and

have shaken my faith to the very foundation.

There is one point which I did not refer to in my letter, and which I intended to remark on, and that is the utter want of discipline in the camps round and about St. Louis. It is a rehearsal of the state of affairs in Washington before the fight at Manassas, and will, I am apprehensive, conduce to similar results. I brought these matters to Fremont's attention, but he put it aside by saying it would not do to be too exacting at once. Our enemies at the door, and yet too early to impart discipline to our troops and keep them out of the whisky shops!!! I know that you and I are both in some sort responsible for Fremont's appointment, and for his being placed in command of this Department, and therefore I feel another and additional motive to speak out openly about these matters. My decided opinion is that he should be relieved of his command, and a man of ability put in his place. The sooner it is done the better.

I have given you my opinion and the ground for it. If the Government knows more of his plans than I know—if you are satisfied with them—then you can burn this paper and say that I am an alarmist: you know, however, that I am not. No man has been more hopeful and confident than I have been up to within a few days past. I felt satisfied on my return that affairs were critical, but that the success and elation of the enemy could be turned to good account if the proper steps were promptly taken.—*They have not been taken*, and either the Government has failed to support Fremont as he should have been, or he has failed to apply the means at his disposal. Affairs

(over)

are worse than they were two weeks ago, and are getting worse every day. Secession increasing, Union men driven out, and the General, I fear, incapable of comprehending his position. His recent proclamation is the best thing of the kind that has been issued, but should have been issued when he first came, when he had the power to enforce, and the enemy no power to retaliate. Now they are substantially enforcing against us the substance of his proclamation outside of St. Louis and our garrisons. I want you to lay these things to your heart, and get ready to apply the remedy before it is too late.

I will write you again very soon. I hope I may have better news to give you. I shall but be too happy if any thing comes to restore my confidence in Fremont. I am well—better than I have been for eight months.

Yours, affectionately,

[Signed]

FRANK P. BLAIR.



[From the N. Y. World.]

**The Plot for the Overthrow of our Liberties.**

Proofs perpetually thicken that the radicals accept the logical consequences of their principles and policy, and that it is their purpose to bring the country under the sway of absolute despotism. We showed, a few days ago, that the constant charges of treason made by the Times and other abolition organs against all who do not vote for the abolition candidates, is a scarcely disguised advocacy of the suppression of the regular elections. Grant that it is the duty of the government to put down treason; grant further that it is treason to vote against the abolitionists, and it logically follows that free elections should share the fate of the *habeas corpus*. It now appears that the radicals admit this consequence of their strange principles, but they have hit upon a more artful and refined method of giving them practical effect. They have decided to try their chances of success at the polls, and then, if they are beaten, prevent the officers elect from entering on the discharge of their duties. The plan is clearly developed in the following extract from a letter honored with a conspicuous place in the Times of Sunday:

"With European recognition and constant efforts, open or secret, to aid the south, the government at Washington will need all the unity and efficiency contemplated in recent proclamations. It will require a million of men and proportional supplies. Martial law over the entire north is a national necessity. *If the governors of the northern states manifest a factious spirit, the provost marshals, it is presumed, will have the power to keep them in order. If state legislatures should undertake to interfere with the action of the general government, necessary to the prosecution of the war, they will come under the action of martial law, and if the action of any political party shall threaten to change or paralyze the movements of the government, it will doubtless be competent for the provost marshal in any state to suspend political meetings and postpone elections.* If the constitution of the United States is to be construed according to the necessities of a civil war of vast proportions, the *constitutions of individual states cannot be allowed to stand in the way of its vigorous prosecution.*

"Englishmen are in great trouble at the illegality and unconstitutionality of the acts of President Lincoln. They have a great tenderness for the constitution and the laws, and feel very badly that the northern people, while conquering the south, should lose their own liberties. They tell us that the president cannot do this and that—that his proclamations are only waste paper. They appear to have very little idea of what the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States can do. *A man of firm and resolute will, with a million of men in arms to support him, can do pretty much what he pleases. They have to learn that paper constitutions, however convenient they may be, can be amended when necessary, suspended, or laid aside altogether, and that it is no longer a question*

*in America what this or that constitution authorizes, but what is necessary to be done to make of thirty-four states and a vast territory one nation."*

It will be seen from these unblushing avowals, that while it is the ultimate purpose of the radicals "to suspend political meetings and postpone elections" when they find themselves in a clear minority, they prefer not to incur the odium and provoke the resistance that would attend such high-handed proceedings, so long as they have any hopes of success at the polls. But when they have tried their chances in the elections and failed, state governors, state legislatures and state constitutions will not be allowed to stand in the way of the abolition policy. Their ultimate reliance is on the subjugation of the president to their purposes. That officer, "with a million of men in arms to support him, can do pretty much as he pleases." They are quite willing that what they sneeringly call "paper constitutions" should be "laid aside altogether."

These abolitionists, with malice aforethought, are preparing the way for this monstrous military despotism by their method of conducting the canvass. They persistently strive to fasten the stigma of treason on their political opponents; they constantly charge that the success of the opposi-

tion candidates would be hailed as a triumph by the southern rebels. This blackening of the characters of honorable and loyal men is meant as a prelude to their deposition from office at the point of the bayonet, if elected, and as a justification in advance of this contemplated outrage. The opposition voters are so numerous that to proceed against them in the mass would not be quite convenient; but the officers whom they may elect will be a smaller and more manageable body. The odium of depriving the people of the fruits of the elections will not be greater than that of suppressing the elections themselves; and the radicals still cherish some hope of success at the polls. But if they fail, their plan as to what they will do next is fully matured provided they can keep control of the president.

They intend to justify a trampling down of the state governments and state constitutions beneath the iron heel of a military despotism, on the pretext that the imminent danger of foreign intervention requires stringent proceedings against traitors—meaning by traitors their political opponents. These fanatics have done all in their power to invite foreign intervention, which they pretended to fear, by proclaiming to Europe that intervention would be attended with no danger. The emancipation proclamation is a public acknowledgement of military imbecility. Its champions defend it on the ground that we can never conquer the south unless we can detach the slaves from their masters. But if our military energy is unequal to a successful contest with the south, it is preposterous to think we can stand against Europe in arms. It is absurd to suppose that the armies and navies of France and England will not overbalance any advantage we may derive from Mr. Lincoln's paper proclamation. This proclamation, we repeat, is a notice to these powers that, whenever it suits their convenience to interfere, they may interfere without danger. It is a confession of military inferiority disgraceful for our government to make, betokening as it does an ignoble consciousness of weakness in an administration which has wielded mighty and unparalleled resources to no purpose. And now it is proposed that this imbecile administration shall wreak the shame of its incompetency on the loyal people of the north by suppressing their elections, abolishing their legislatures, imprisoning their governors, and expunging their state constitutions. The people themselves will have something to say before this nefarious scheme is consummated.

11-11-1862



Trenton, N.J. Feb 22 1863

Anti-Lincoln

Dear Brother

This being one of the stormyest days that we have had for many years (for it is snowing right now real old Connecticut style, blowing and drifting us all in) I thought I would spend this eve in writing you. I have not heard a word from any of you since Norman wrote to me last fall before he left home. Oh how foolish he was to go away and leave such a large family - how do they ever get along?

I did feel very much provoked when I heard that your two sons had gone into the army. For what is all this for, all this sacrifice of life, and health, and morals - nothing only for Abraham Lincoln's War for the Negro and to ruin the country both North and South.

This was his object. He intended to make this a war for the negro and nothing else; but he was cunning enough to disguise his plans till he got up a great army, and thought they could not get out of it then.

I do not believe that there could be found another set of as corrupt wicked men in the whole United States as Abe Lincoln, his Cabinet and this Abolition Congress. I don't believe there is one truly good honest upright man among them, that truly has the good of his Country at heart. - People say how how have I been deceived; if they had known this was going to happen, to be only a war to free the negroes, they would not have their sons and brothers gone in the army. Why did they not when they found this was what they were fighting for lay down their arms at once and march back to Washington and turn old Abe Lincoln and all his Cabinet out and put in men that could settle this difficulty without any more fighting; for they cannot settle it in this way. I have said so from the beginning. It is so strange that the Northern men could not see what this war was for from the beginning, that it was not for the Union - but only to free the negroes. I do get so mad that people don't rise up at once and turn this wicked set of abolitionists out of Washington, and all their freed negroes with them and make them support them. Lincoln is blacker than any of them. Oh this awful wicked war. See how little care they have for their healths, sleeping in the mud without even a tent to cover them. Those who don't die have their constitutions ruined for ever. We see some from the army every day. They all give the same account of their sufferings, sickness and death.

March 1st. Now I will finish this letter. Tell the Conscription bill has passed now. Of course the Abolitionists can pass anything they have a mind to. Doesn't make any difference how wicked and unjust it is. I do almost distrust that there is a God in Heaven, when such devilish men in Washington are let to live to destroy this great Nation. Where oh where is our boasted Liberty now?

It is known in Washington that old Lincoln has been shot at twice and that he has not dared to go to his privy without his bodyguard.

People here say that they will not submit to this Conscription bill, but I think they will. They have submitted too long to this wicked band of abolitionists. Now they have got the halter so tight around their necks that unless the people arouse themselves in a body now, and put them down, our Liberty is gone from us forever. This wicked war is fast killing me. I cannot think of anything else by night or day. I think I have grown ten years older in the last two years. Frederick says he has grown fifteen years older. Our Augustus is very much troubled about this draft. I tell him he shall not ever go in this Army alive; if they take him they will have to take him dead.

Norman wrote to me that nearly all my male relations in Ct. were in the War. Is it really so? Do write to me and tell me what you hear of them.

Your loving sister,

Eliza (Perkins) Auten



*File in anti-Lincoln*

From : Emerson Etheridge, Washington, D. C.  
To : R. F. Stevens, New York, N. Y.  
Date : November 28, 1863  
Source : Original letter, owned by Boyd B. Stutler, Charleston, W. Va.

Washington, D. C.

Novr 28 1863

R. F. Stevens Esq

New York

Dear Sir:

I have this day received your letter of 20th instant (post-marked the 27th) inviting me on Thursday next to attend a Convention at Cincinnati of "Old Line Whigs - War Democrats - Conservative Men without regard to former party predilections, friends of Jackson, Webster, Clay and Crittenden, who desire to preserve the Union unimpaired - who are willing to take their stand upon the Kentucky Platform, opposed alike to secession and Abolition fanaticism: who believe that the war should be carried on till those in armed revolt are compelled to obey the Constitution and the laws of Congress, and who hold that the State governments suspended by the revolt should be restored under their State Constitutions respectively." You further say that it will be the purpose of the Convention to aid in "uniting the Conservative element of the country in the next Presidential Election."

Though I cannot attend, because of my official duties here, my whole heart is with you; and with those of every party name and creed who are engaged in the holy purpose you so favorably avow. I give also my entire approval to the Resolutions of the Rochester Meeting. Adherence to the principles of these Resolutions will save the country - and I intend, in the coming time, to act only with those who recognize the supremacy of the Constitution in war as well as in peace - 'Tis a sickening sight to see those who are entrusted with the holy duty of suppressing the Rebellion, as entirely regardless of the Constitution and the laws as were John Brown and Jefferson Davis when they, respectively, began their murderous forays upon Harpers Ferry and Fort Sumter - It is worse still to see those who profess abhorrence at the treason of the one singing hosannas to the dead carcass of the

other and begging the handles of his bloody pikes to bequeath as precious legacies to their children - We can have but feeble hopes of our country when our rulers smile approvingly upon those who stigmatize our country's flag as "a flaunting lie," and who prefer the doggerel "John Brown's body lies mouldering in the clay" to the grand anthems which have become a part of our national history. They do not desire peace; their policy aims at no such thing - The personnel of the Government must be changed - Traitors to the Constitution, North and South, must be put down: those with arms in their hands by the Military power; those in official station by the voice of the people - the friends of the Government, with proper organization and concert, are abundantly able to hurl all the (Lincoln's name stricken out) Sumners, Chases, Butlers, Busteeds and Browns from the seats of power they now defile, and that too by no other means than the ballot.

The late outrages in Maryland and Delaware cannot be repeated in the populous states of the North - "Forewarned is forearmed" - Our soldiers, when made acquainted with the designs of those who would use them for the base purpose of controlling the election franchise, will, when they have conquered the Rebellion, turn the sword of the ballot upon those who now seek to prostitute them to the infamous task of controlling the freedom of elections in Border States. But I have no time to enlarge upon this or kindred subjects - I am with you - with all who wish to preserve the Constitution and perpetuate the public liberties we enjoyed, North and South, ere this accursed rebellion unchained the mad ~~xxxxxx~~ and misguided cohorts of John Brown and Jefferson Davis to scourge our country - I hate the one, I loath the ~~other~~: and, in my judgement, he who apologises for either becomes an abettor of Criminals - an accomplice in crime. Down with all such men and their misguided followers. To accomplish this, then, there must be union and forbearance among the true friends of the Constitution. To your principles and purposes, I repeat, I commit myself, fully and unreservedly; but I shall reserve the right - as it is my duty - to throw my feeble influence wherever it will be most effective in driving the present



weak, corrupt and corrupting dynasty from power - The opponents of (Lincoln crossed out) the President and his insane policy are the true, the only friends of peace and union: they must prove themselves the champions of the Constitution, the defenders of public liberty, or we will speedily too soon have no country to save - I am, therefore, unwilling to see the true friends of this government with more than one Presidential Candidate in the field. I care not who he may be or what his former party name of association may have been - I ask only if his life and conduct have proved him a friend of the Constitution as it is, of the Union as it was. I would not be invidious, but I will say that under the leadership of such men as Geo. B. McClellan or Horatio Seymour I will gladly do battle in the approaching contest - Though I have never voted for a Democrat, I shall feel honored, under the leadership of some such man, to have the privilege of working earnestly to rescue our country from the domination of rebels in the South and their shameless allies in the North - The names I have mentioned are those of Unconditional Union Men: they spurn the demands of Jefferson Davis, while they contemptuously reject the no less infamous requirements of (Lincoln's name crossed out) Sumner, Chase, Whiting & Co. They go for the Union of our fathers - so do we - The one a brave, modest and accomplished soldier has exhibited his fitness to govern others by shewing that he can govern himself whether assailed by the powers or blandishments of power - He already has a splendid history: the world will soon have an opportunity of reading it. Govr. Seymour has been a student of History: he is thoroughly imbued with that Philosophy it so unerringly teaches - Recently, he has shown himself a wise statesman, a lover of the Union, and a defender of the Constitution - I will unite with any party which seeks to save our country by entrusting the Ship of State to such men as these - of such must the chiefs of our political household be. But I confidently look for good, and only good, from your deliberations. Those who forget party and self in love of country cannot err.

Very truly yours

EM: ETHERIDGE

R. F. Stevens Esq  
Secy Nat Comt - New York

#### THE DUTY OF CONSERVATIVE MEN.

In an article published last week, under the title of "The Issues Before the Country," we sketched briefly the course of the Administration, and of the leaders of the Republican party, on the great questions which now agitate the people of the United States; and pointed out, as well as we were able, some of the dangers which threaten to overthrow our liberties, or plunge us into disasters from which the mind recoils with alarm. In this article we offer a few suggestions respecting the duty of Conservative men in this trying ordeal.

The position of those who do not approve the policy of the Administration, and who therefore have fallen under the ban of the radicals who control it, is a most trying one. They are asked to "support the Government," in default of which they are pronounced "disloyal"—"copperheads"—"traitors." But what is meant by "supporting the Government?" Is it to sustain the lawful authorities in upholding the Constitution and the laws? There are very few men—certainly not a thousand men—in all the so-called loyal States, who are not ready to do this, with their influence, their means, and if need be, their lives. Let the unselfish devotion of the people in the earlier stages of the war, attest this, and prove their readiness to make sacrifices in behalf of Constitutional Government.

No, it is not such a support of the Government that is demanded of us, but quite another and a different allegiance—no less than a blind adherence to an Administration whose policy leads directly to the subversion of the Constitution and the destruction of our dearest rights. Shall the people render such allegiance? Are they bound to accord such support to the party which happens to be in power? Their practical answer to these questions is to be found in the total absence of all offers of volunteers or recruits for the war, whereas in its earlier stages the offers of men were in excess of the wants of the Government—in the entire withdrawal of confidence in the Administration by the Democrats and Conservatives throughout the country. They

are ready and willing to "support the Government," even in carrying on a war which they believe could and should have been avoided, so long as it is conducted for the objects and in the manner prescribed by the Constitution; *but they are neither ready nor willing to support an Administration which tramples the Constitution under its feet and seeks to establish in its place, the will of irresponsible and incompetent usurpers.*

The theory and leading principles of our system teach obedience to the constituted authorities, and the reformation of abuses by constitutional methods. The masses of Northern Democrats held that the election of Mr. LINCOLN, by constitutional means, furnished no valid reason for the violent action of the Southern States. It was only the usurpation of powers not conferred by the Constitution—the attempt to overthrow the Constitutional Government, and to inaugurate another not authorized by the people—that could justify resistance to the legally chosen officers of the Government. For this the States in rebellion did not wait, and thus they violated a sacred principle in Republican Government.

Antislavery



## **LINCOLN CALLED HARSH NAMES IN 1865 MAGAZINE**

### ***Find Copy in Attic of Illinois Farmhouse***

Jerseyville, Ill., April 3 [Special]—An example of the invectives heaped upon Abraham Lincoln is contained in the editorial columns of a magazine, the *Old Guard*, published in April, 1865. The magazine, published in New York, was edited by Chauncey Burr.

The copy, with another of its kind, was found in the attic of an old farm house in Jersey county four years ago. The *Old Guard* was a bitterly Democratic publication and generally attacked the Lincoln administration, the conduct of the war, and men and generals of national standing at that time.

#### **Calls Lincoln Usurper**

The *Old Guard* reports Lincoln's second inauguration in the following brief editorial:

"The Fourth of March [inauguration day] was the bleakest, the wettest, and altogether the most disagreeable day of the whole year. As if nature shuddered at the calamity of a second inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, the heavens above wept, and the earth beneath groaned under depths of filth. For a short time toward noon, the clouds lifted a little, but, at the precise hour of the inauguration, they settled down again with a density and blackness truly terrible. It would seem that God's own hand had drawn a wet pall over the face of the land, at the moment when the perjured usurper was to go thru the daring mockery of again taking an oath to support the Constitution he is striving to destroy."

#### **Attacks Vice President**

In criticism of Andrew Johnson, the editorial column of the issue gave vent to the following:

"Andy Johnson, when he took his seat in the chair of the Vice President, on the 5th of March, made the following startling announcement: 'I am going to tell the truth here today.' The truth in

#### LINCOLN AS A BOSS.

A professor in the State University at Bloomington, Ind., has scandalized the community by referring to Abraham Lincoln as "a ward political boss," who "did not associate with the better class of people in his home town."

Lincoln would not have shared the indignation of Bloomington over this charge. He himself was the best class of people in Springfield, and he did not care much for "the better class." They were mostly tedious, stupid folk, who bored him. As for skill in practical politics, Lincoln would have bowed his head in shame if he could not have swung his ward whenever he pleased.

Illinois raised up a generation of shrewd and crafty politicians in Lincoln's day, but none of them could teach him anything. He was their master, and sometimes he adopted methods that would hardly be condoned to-day. He sent \$100 to a Kansas Republican who had promised to go to the Chicago Convention as a delegate and vote for Lincoln's nomination if his expenses were paid. He carried out the bargain by which Simon Cameron became Secretary of War in his Cabinet, although he had no part in making the deal with the Pennsylvania delegation. Both Lamon and Herndon agree that Lincoln looked after himself in politics and bothered little about his political obligation to others.

But Lincoln was no boss. He never made a cent out of politics. On the contrary, politics helped keep him poor. He spent his money and neglected his law practice in battling for principles which he believed to be right. Did anybody ever hear of a boss's losing money by being in politics?

4-10-1908

CONGEN



# JOEL COOK ASSAILED AS LINCOLN'S REVILER; OLD SPEECH IS READ

Newlin Recites Remarks Representative Made After  
Gettysburg.

## LITERARY UNION ACTS

Opposes Renomination of Congressman Who Attacked  
Union Army.

Resolutions opposing the candidacy of Representative Joel Cook for renomination in the Second District were unanimously adopted by the Dunbar Literary Union at a meeting of that organization last night in Zion Baptist Church, Thirteenth street, above Wallace.

The resolutions read as follows:

"Resolved, That Joel Cook, the libeler of Abraham Lincoln and traducer of the Union army, who, after the battle of Gettysburg was willing to make peace by perpetuating slavery, is unfit to represent a loyal people in Congress, and we call upon all candidates registered for the April primaries to publicly repudiate his candidacy.

### Newlin Assails Cook.

The resolution was proposed by the Rev. T. M. Nixon, an associate pastor of the church, after James W. M. Newlin, who is a candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress in that district, had read a speech made by Joel Cook, in which he denounced President Lincoln and argued that the policy of negro emancipation was unconstitutional.

Fully 300 members of the union were present. Mr. Newlin, who was their guest, was introduced by the Rev. Mr. Nixon, and said:

"I want to read to you a speech made by Joel Cook at a Democratic meeting held in Independence Square on the evening of September 17, 1863, at which meeting the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That the policy of negro emancipation, which has been substituted by the Abolitionists for the original objects of the war is alike unconstitutional and impolitic; it oversteps the powers of the federal government; it stimulates opposition to reunion; it counteracts the efforts of our gallant soldiers and unites for protracted and desperate resistance the white race in the southern states.

"The speech was published on the following day in a newspaper called the Age, of which Mr. Cook was one of the editors. In 1880, when Joel Cook was the Republican candidate for city controller, this speech, reproduced in a newspaper, the Evening Star of October 23 of that year, drove him off of the ticket.

### Reads Cook's Speech.

"Here is the speech of the man who denounced Lincoln, and yet who now has the temerity to run for Congress as a Republican:

"Democrats—It would ill become one so young as I am to teach men their political duty. I do not stand up here tonight for that purpose. I simply desire to state the reasons upon which I base my political belief and the causes which have led me to embrace the principles of the Democracy, now the only party in the country which acknowledges the constitution. We live in a ruined country, governed by a corrupt administration. The laws given us are tyrannical and their execution confided to military satrap instead of the civil power. Our judges are provost marshals and our jurymen a file of soldiers. All the ordinary channels of trade are obstructed, and no one thrives whose profits are not drawn from the miseries of war.

"This war has been conducted by the President of the United States. He has had the exclusive control of it. Neither the constitution nor the laws have interfered with his plans or passions. The one has been trampled upon, and the subservient Thirty-seventh Congress never presumed to interfere with the other. The President has had all the power, and is responsible for the use all of it. He has had all the men and money he asked. The nation has been prodigal of both. And thus provided with the power and means to do as he pleases, if the President has failed in the war, he must take the consequences.

"We find that the administration began and continued this great war without a single plan and with scarcely any definite idea of any military operations. Instead of endeavoring to fight the enemy comprehensively, using brains as well as muscle, making every soldier and every ship operate at the same time against the foe, they have wasted their energies in ill-starred expeditions and barbarous raids—movements which if successful have but little effect upon the great end in view, but if defeated, as they usually are, bring obloquy and contempt upon the government.

"The federal troops are supplied with officers by strange and absurd methods. Rent collectors are made major generals and pothouse politicians lead our regiments. A man who can make partisan speeches or write letters indorsing the 'entire war policy' without a single idea what that policy is, is preferred before the wisest professors of the military art.

"An officer who can free negroes and violate the constitution of his country; who can make midnight raids and frighten women and children, is heralded as a great strategist, worthy of all praise; one who despises such things and wishes to carry on the war with the least possible misery is soon shipwrecked and swallowed up in that great sea which engulfs all who are not fanatics. Hardly a post of honor or profit in the country is given but as a reward for adulation or sycophancy.

"In the conduct of military operations the administration has acted with equal absurdity and foolishness.

"Two-thirds of the expedition planned by the administration have been failures, and nearly all of the remainder have resulted in nothing but the capture of empty intrenchments and troublesome negroes. It is only when officers act on their own responsibility and keep out of the influence of the Washington Upstart tree that anything can be accomplished.

### "Executive Intermeddling."

"It is sorrowful to think how many lives and how much treasure have been sacrificed at the shrine of executive intermeddling. The West all alone has seen successful war, but their victories have been achieved only because distance prevented interference from Washington. sides all these errors, the government has permitted its subordinates to commit the most infamous outrages. Many of them have received condemnation for conduct unworthy of civilized warfare; expeditions have been undertaken solely for the destruction of private property. Dwellings have been stripped and the furniture in them broken in mere wantonness. Aged men, females and children have been dragged from their homes, and submitted to the vilest indignities.

"The barbarities of the rebels, of which so much has been said and so little seen, find excellent imitation in the paths of federal raids.

"We must at some time put a period to the flow of blood and the expenditure of money. And that this may be done the better, let us use every exertion to place in power an administration that will

meet the South as brethren, that will receive in the proper spirit overtures for peace and reconciliation; men who wish to restore the Union, not destroy it; who would rather we should suffer some slight inconvenience, if slavery be an inconvenience to us who have it not, than that every energy of the country should be bent to its own destruction.

"Let us use all honorable exertions for this great end, and in the election of Woodward and Lowrie, high-minded patriots, animated with that Christian spirit which leads us to forgive our enemies, we will find an auspicious omen. That such may be the result of the great contest now convulsing this state is the earnest hope of every true patriot."





# Who Was Abraham Lincoln?

Answer By Candidate for New York Policeman  
Revealed Wonderful Ignorance.

12.22.1911

About twelve years ago, Mrs. H. L. Spencer read an article in the Chicago Tribune that caught her fancy and she laid the paper away. The copy is interesting in showing the great advance made in newspapers in even that short time. Telegraph matter was unusually scarce and all Washington and eastern correspondence came by mail, being dated three or four days before the morning of publication. Much of the paper also was filled up with clippings from other papers and periodicals. One of these clippings is what interested Mrs. Spencer. It is as good today as it was twelve years ago, and is as follows:

New York Post: We commend to the attention of all persons who have doubts about the usefulness of historical questions in civil service examinations the collection, which we publish below, of answers made by applicants for admission to the police force of New York to the question, "Who was Abraham Lincoln?" The answer revealed a great deal more than mere ignorance about Lincoln. They show a degree of stupidity which utterly disqualifies the writers of them for any position requiring even rudimentary education or elementary knowledge of common sense. A competent policeman should be able to make both orally and in writing an intelligible account of his doings and observations. None of the writers of these answers could do that, yet most of them might have made intelligent and proper oral answers to questions about the location of streets and buildings in the city, which is all the knowledge which the anti-civil service reform agitators say is necessary.

For some of the machine politicians who could see no use in written civil service examinations for policemen, President Roosevelt had the following extracts taken from essays on "Who Was Abraham Lincoln?" written by unsuccessful applicants for appointment to the police force:

"Don is Duty."

Applicant No. 1.—"Abraham Lincoln was President of the United States he was a very smart and endurist man he was very kind to all the people who he had control over he was grately thought of by all the officers that were in office while he was he was a very brave man all thrue the war of 1862 he did nearly all he took in his head to do he trust in god a grate deal he was at the head of many battles and fought very bravely in all battle he was in When he died he was regarde by menny Offaces whom thought grately of him is picture is now in menny building and grately thought of he don is duty

in all he undertook to."

Applicant No. 2.—"He was shot while at a theater by Decota (De Sota?). He had been a President for a year and six months."

Applicant No. 3.—"Abraham Lincoln was elected for the second turn but only served a part of it beng shot and killed by a man named Guitar who was aaterwords caught and imprisoned."

Applicant No. 4.—"He was a good President but he was kill and we did not have one so good sence it was to bad to have him kill if he had to live he would be a good Presented he was trying to make a good Country for us when he shot but for the war we would be slaves so the People Regards him for that. so i dont think i no very much about Lincoln for i went to work at nine years of age."

Applicant No. 5.—"Abraham Lincoln was to the best of my knowlege the Commander in Chief of the fighting forces of the North during the battle for supremacy between the North and the South in the year eighteen hundred and twelve."

His Idea of Lincoln.

No. 6.—"started life on a ferry boat on the Mississippi River and from there he went to Lincoln Nebrask to run a flat boat and after that the people thought so much about him that they nominated him for United States Senator."

No. 7.—"Was president for one term after the sivil war in which he served and gained great distinction."

No. 8.—"He did not die immediately after he was assassinated He lived until April 14 1865 and died at his home in Long Branch It was he who issued the proclamation that freed the negroes and that entitled them to citizen ship He was in power during some of the principal battles of the Civil War He was shot entering a Theater and his assailant, it was said was insane."

No. 9.—"He was the President that freed the South and let the Dorkey go fred and he was shot by Garfield this is all that I renber of of prestended Lincom so I will close hoping that I will pass."

No. 10.—"We have sertinly had very fiew like unto Lincoln, as far as I can find out he was a tal lathey man a great rail splitter true to principle true to his Country true to his god." "Was assassinated by Booth of Chicago 1864."

No. 11.—"He was a man of good moral caractor have you a copy of His life if so you pliase lend to me for a week or so."

No. 12.—"He received his education reading a Bible and a speller."

No. 13.—"was born in Kentucky St. Alaly age his father moved the family to Ohio floating down the Mississippi.

No. 14.—"I hereby try to pass a mentail examinations for position as patrolman and hoping to hear from your request. I have learn Common educations and willing to learn more if it is convenient I think I could fill pestion to your satisfaction."

Puts him in the Army.

No. 15.—"He was a poor boy assisting his father at work in the year 1863 when the war broke out. Mr. Lincoln was one of the first to the front, he made such rapid progress that he received the honor of generals of the United States Army. Mr. Lincoln had many engagements in war and was bound to be victorious especially at the battle of Gettysburg when he swept all before him."

No. 16.—"He hasbin shout wile walking doun thir strett by a man whoum did not like him."

No. 17. "He was killed and taking to thir house nearby wair he was picked up I due not know mush about hin beaun I did not have vvery mush schhoolhig—My Pipal is verry poor and Kood not send me to a hi school."

No. 18. "he was a farmer by occupation when elected to the Presedancy of United States and it is through him that we know enjoy out united peace and that the war of Rebellion was conquered."

No. 19. "He was attending a performance in Booth's theater, in Philadelphia when he was shot in the back of the head and died."

No. 20. "I will state in regards to the Honorable Mr. Lincoln the dioceased he was a brave man and coregoes. He was President elected in the year of 1861 but unforteonaly shot by Geteay in the year of 1861 he was a Intelegant man I think this country would be as bad a Cuba or Ireland Scotland and Whales if he didnt take action."

21. "I have read of his being a great rastler and being a hard man to handle. If he had not been killed he he minght be living today to a ripe old age. Mr. Lincoln was a very kind man in peace but very stern in war."

No. 22. "His great act of banishing slavery from the negroes is one to be commemorated."

No. 23. "He freed the slavery and was looked opnd at that time as the Honorable General Grant was wen he was put in office."

No. 24. "Negroes were bought and sold by the moneyed Southern people selling them to one another for from five to ten dollars."

Thinks Him Overestimated.

No. 25. "But of corse he was not the great man that the People taught he was and in my opinion I think he did not due the People whom elected him as much Justus as he might of done."

No. 26. "He was a man that fred all the negroes in the world. I think he will never never be forgot as all the growing up children is telling one another about Abraham Lincoln."

No. 27. "Was farming during his minr years, a lawyer hire as errand bey and he prove a valuable young man."

No. 28. "The greatest of Historical and emancipators."



No. 29. "The South refused to obey his command and elected a Confederate President Thomas Jefferson whom declared war against the Union by ordering his soldiers to seize Fort Sumter and all the forts of the South."

No. 30. "After he was shot Mr. Arthur took his place as president."

No. 31. "Abraham Lincoln was considered one of the best Presidents that the Country had at that time and will always be respected by the South in setting Slaves free."

No. 32. "Ex-President Lincoln was a brave man during the war, and did things in the war that other Officers did not dare to do or attempted to do he fought one of the worst battles during the war that of Bull Run."

"He was shot by Ballinger (Ballington?) Booth—"

No. 33. "In the year of 1865 he was nominated in place of Buchanan whose term of office expired in that year."

No. 34. "In the year 1869 he succeeded as President by Jackson and lived happy the rest of his life."

President of New York.

"To their Police Board,

Gentlemen

"I will tell your Honor that I know about Abraham Lincoln that he has been a President of the New York City."

No. 35. "Has lost his life while holding position?"

No. 36. "After the war was over and all the people became peaceful once more the Republican party got together and nominated General Lincoln for President. He was elected by a very large and overwhelming majority afterwards making one of the best honestest and faithfullest Presidents this country ever had."

No. 37.—"he was at last assassinated out of the effects of which he died."

No. 38.—"The person who shot Mr. Lincoln was supposed to be a Southern Confederate name Gideon for this offense he was tried and convicted and sentenced to be beheaded."

No. 39.—"The time of Abraham Lincoln's death the whole, the whole country was draped in deep mourning in honor of their hero's death."

No. 40.—"Abraham Lincoln was President of the United States and was assassinated in 1877 at Faneuil Theatre Boston."

No. 41.—"Kind Gentlemen in reference to the life of Abraham Lincoln I would say that I am not personally acquainted with him he was a clerk in a grocery store and could lick any of the village boys."

And the spoils mongers say the questions are too hard, and are fighting to make the civil service examinations more "practical."



**WHEN LINCOLN WAS A TARGET  
OF ABUSE. 1870**

Davenport, Ia., Dec. 14.—The enclosed clipping, found recently in an ancient scrap-book, indicates that the "hyphenates" who now sigh for a leader of the Lincoln type and ability disliked him just as cordially in 1861 as they do President Wilson in 1920. One can but wonder what their verdict will be sixty years hence concerning Mr. Wilson.

"Reader of The Democrat."

The clipping enclosed was from a paper printed in 1861, and was as follows:

**Hard on Lincoln.**

The Pioneer, a German paper published at Boston, is slightly rabid in its views on the present crisis—is one of the "forward to Richmond" kind, and wants the work of blood to be carried on regardless of the consequences. In its issue of the 27th ult. we find the following elegant bit of literature, dedicated to the president:

"No greater service could, indeed, be rendered to the Republic than that the troops would rise in rebellion and drive Mr. Lincoln together with his whole Cabinet, General Scott included, out of Washington, or hang them on the first lantern pole, for at heart, they are all traitors.

We say this upon 'calm deliberation."

There is impetuosity for you! That knocks Deacon Bross and Horace Greeley higher than a kite.

Another slice from the Pioneer will do for this time. That paper is evidently of the opinion that the delay of the powers at Washington to push forward the columns of the Federal army, is owing to a desire on the part of the president to settle the trouble with blood, or, in other words to have the rebels lay down their arms of rebellion, and on this idea the gallant writer branches out:

"The idea that 60,000 Teutons with arms in their hands commanded by actual officers, should be sold and betrayed and sent home seated on a rotten compromise! Let's see who has the stuff and courage in him for such an exploit! Sooner than do that, these "barbarians of the Rhine and the Danube" will take Lincoln and his entire cabinet and nail them by their ears on the table and hold them there until we have been fully supplied to march against the enemy! "Sold and betrayed!" A wretch who will be sold and betrayed! We Germans never will! We will sooner go to work and tear this whole rotten concern of a government to pieces and rear a new, purely German empire on its ruins rather than be sold and betrayed! We have heretofore twisted and retwisted the nose of the Romanized empire with success, and shall certainly do the same thing to this modern one, should it prove as rotten as the ancient one. Therefore, hush up, flunkys, and talk no nonsense; there are others, who know more of politicians than you—who, in due time, will open their mouths!"

There is food for reflection. Big talk considering the source from which it comes.—Davenport Democrat.





## TWO LINCOLNS.

### The President as Depicted in Drinkwater's Play and Dixon's.

TO THE SUN AND NEW YORK HERALD:  
I read with considerable interest the criticism you printed of Mr. Dixon's play "A Man of the People." I note the critic compares Mr. Drinkwater's treatment of Lincoln as an idealist with Mr. Dixon's portrayal of Lincoln as the practical politician.

It may be interesting to your readers to know that Mr. McClure in "Our Presidents and How We Make Them" says that he was intimately acquainted with Mr. Lincoln, and in the campaign of 1864 he, McClure, then living in Pennsylvania, went to Washington and reported the possible loss of the electoral vote in Pennsylvania to the Republican party, whereupon Mr. Lincoln gave orders to furlough 5,000 Pennsylvania troops home in order to insure his election in Pennsylvania.

It is a historical fact, as shown by Mr. Lincoln's own letters, that he advanced money to a delegate to the Chicago convention in 1860 when he was nominated. Of course this is not intended to reflect upon the character of the Great Emancipator but simply to show that President Lincoln was extremely practical and while he had his head in the clouds his feet were always upon solid earth.

From my study of history I think Mr. Dixon's portrayal of Lincoln's character is certainly more nearly historically correct than Mr. Drinkwater's. M. O.

New York, September 13.

1p.  
6m.





#### Where Was Lincoln's Coach?

Editor, The State Journal—Who cares where Lincoln's coach stood or who visits the Lincoln tomb? People do not visit the Lincoln monument because they care anything about Lincoln. They want something to blow to their neighbors about when they get home.

It is not the nature of the human family to care very much for someone they have never seen. So why all the sob stuff? The people elected Abe Lincoln to the highest office in the world, paid him for his services and he probably served to the best of his ability, but many other presidents have done the same thing.

I have read the Journal a long time and get tired of the political mush and sob stuff. The Journal is strong for law enforcement but will probably back the same men for the next general assembly who served in the last one and violated their oath of office and defrauded the taxpayer through illegal appropriations. The rottenest place in Illinois is the state house.

Chas. C. Mote,  
Middletown, Ill.

*Ill 21 Jan  
2-12-22*

# Was Lincoln Asked to Resign as President?

**D**ID members of Abraham Lincoln's cabinet actually ask him to resign as President during the Civil war? Letters and records have been reserved showing that one member of his cabinet suggested to Lincoln that he—the cabinet officer—should take charge and direct national affairs, that Lincoln should surrender power, authority and procedure to him. Mrs. Honoré Willie Morrow, a noted writer, has written a historical novel, "With Malice Toward None," which deals with the last two years of the Civil war. We quote from Kesinger's *Midwest Review*:

"With Malice Toward None" takes place in the last two years of the Civil War preceding the fall of Richmond—the period in which Lincoln was not only under constant public disfavor, but was plunged into a desperate political struggle with the man he loved more than any other of the many friends he had: Senator Charles Sumner of New England.

Sumner and Lincoln differed widely on reconstruction. Sumner would have given all the captured plantations to the freed slaves. He would have plunged Southerners into a bottomless pit of poverty, would have taken from them the only means they ever had of recuperating their lost fortunes after the Civil War.

Lincoln, on the other hand, wanted to keep the old plantation idea. He had already emancipated the slaves, but he firmly believed that the South could not be brought back into the Union, even though it lost the Civil War, if the slaves were to be given the possessions of their former masters.

It was a bitter feud. Sumner, joining the majority of Northerners who had become grievously disappointed with Lincoln's apparent inability to bring order out of military chaos, broke with the president and refused to return to the White House where he had formerly been a daily visitor.

## Sumner Strikes

Mrs. Morrow opens her novel just as the rumors of Sumner's intentions were coming to Lincoln. The President, beset on every side by disgruntled people, and weighted with worries which would have killed any other man, needed Sumner of all men in these darkest hours.

When word of Sumner's political trickery first came, Lincoln was inclined to ignore it. There was no escaping its importance, however, and Lincoln deliberately brought on Sumner's complete break by inviting him to an informal tea. Senator Sumner, tall, handsome and cultured, arrived just as most of the guests were leaving. When the door closed behind Lord Lyons, Mrs. Welles, and Mrs. Seward, Lincoln took a chair near the tea table, and waited for Sumner to strike.

## "Here It Comes"

The Senator, awaiting until the negro closed the door, looked down on Lincoln.

"Mr. Lincoln, will you allow me to be utterly frank with you?"

The president felt his muscles stiffen. Was Sumner going to confess and as simply as this? Life, after all, allows very few retreats . . . well, better get it over with.

"You're out of patience with me, eh, Mr. Sumner?" he asked. Sumner looked from Lincoln, disheveled and weary, to Mary (Mrs. Lincoln), whose eyes glowed with excitement although she sat calmly enough before her teapot. His throat worked in an unwonted manner. There was a wistfulness in Lincoln's blue gray eyes, and a sensitiveness about the thin upper lip that may have made him loath to strike.

"My attitude has nothing personal in it, Mr. Lincoln," said Sumner. "Personally, I have a horror of the task I've imposed on myself this afternoon. Only the same overwhelming conviction that swept me into the antislavery fight years ago could have whipped me into the position I'm in now with regard to you."

"Get on with it, Sumner! I accept the apology," said Lincoln, dryly. He began to run his little ivory paper knife through his black hair; a sure indication of a moment of stress with him. "Let's not have any elocution about it."

"The better element of your own party as well as the same class of the general public are thoroughly

dissatisfied with you as our Chief Executive, Mr. Lincoln. You are not enforcing the Emancipation Proclamation as it should and could be enforced. General Banks in New Orleans and Andrew Jackson in Tennessee are playing with that vital promulgation."

"Here it comes!" thought Lincoln.

Sumner swept on. "You're too fearful of offending different factions. The Northern Democrats, the border States, this, that and the other chimerical considerations hold you back. I agree with the general feeling that while we have entire faith in your integrity, you're too slow of action for the present crisis. While you hesitate and your generals procrastinate, the peace party thrives and at any moment the war may end with slavery on our hands. We have no faith in slavery being forever destroyed under your rule."

He moistened his lips, glanced at Mary, who sat motionless, and went on. "Knowing, as many of us do, Mr. Lincoln, how utterly impersonal and unselfish your attitude toward the nation is, we ask you to show your patriotism to the full by—" He hesitated, then finished firmly—"by resigning from the Presidency."

## "God Help the Negro!"

The blow was one of the greatest Lincoln ever received. Mary screamed when she heard it, but Lincoln sat silently. Within a few moments he asked Sumner why he should step out to make room for his vice president, Hamlin

"You've touched a vital point, Mr. Lincoln. In choosing Hamlin, we choose a man who recognizes that reconstruction belongs to the Congress and not to the President," Sumner answered.

"In other words," said the President, "you'd be able to control reconstruction yourself, Senator?"

"I'd be permitted to do my share, which I'm not now nor would be under your regime," very gravely.

"That is to say," Lincoln suddenly leaped to his feet and pointed a long finger at the Senator, "that is to say, you think you're better qualified to handle a bruised and heartbroken south than I . . . you who've just admitted you've no bowels of compassion for those who differ from you! And you actually think an attempt to thrust civic equality of the negro down those Southern throats already choked with sobs is going to insure civic equality to the negro for the future? Sumner, it's against human nature. I tell you that every gesture that the Congress will make to confiscate the plantations for the negro sets back his enjoyment of equality another ten years."

"Great Gods!" Sumner's arms shot toward the ceiling. His face was contorted. "Maudlin sympathy with the greatest crime—"

Lincoln interrupted. "Never mind the oratory, Senator."

Sumner, arms still in the air, stared at Lincoln, amazed and indignant.

Lincoln drew himself to his full height, dropped the ivory paper knife into his vest pocket and said very softly and clearly, "I'm not going to resign."

Sumner slowly lowered his arms and groaned, "God help the negro!"

"He will!" Lincoln nodded, "but I intend He shall help him during the next two years by showing Abraham Lincoln how to save the Union."

YEOMAN SHIELD



# They Hated Lincoln

<sup>Colliers 7-6-130</sup>  
"NOW he belongs to the ages." Curious irony of history it was that a man who had combated Abraham Lincoln as relentlessly as had Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, and who even as Lincoln lay dying was planning to frustrate the President's policies, should have uttered this perfect tribute to the fallen leader.

We incline to remember now only the Lincoln of the Gettysburg speech, the man of the people whose simple eloquence gave permanent expression to the hopes and ideals and aspirations of the inarticulate millions of decent men and women.

It is refreshing for us also to keep in mind that other Lincoln, the sober man of action who was forever fighting against tremendous odds to lead our predecessors to do justice with mercy during the most tragic period in our national history. For if we understand the difficulties which prejudiced men put in the path of Lincoln, we shall have a more comprehending insight into embarrassments which still confront our leaders.

When Abraham Lincoln was a candidate for the presidency in 1864, he won by a scant majority—obtaining only 55 per cent of the votes of the Northern States.

As the Civil War approached the end President Lincoln was bitterly fought in his every policy. Speaking of the radicals in Congress he said:

"They have never been friendly to me. At all events, I must keep some consciousness of being somewhere near right. I must keep some standard of principle fixed within myself."

His plan of reconstruction was passionately hated and later when Andrew Johnson adopted it as his own, Johnson was impeached.

Every important policy for which Lincoln stood was repudiated by Congress and by the country during the years immediately following his assassination.

Straight through his presidency Lincoln was subjected to incessant and unrestrained attack. Wendell Phillips called Lincoln "a more unlimited despot than the world knows this side of China."

Eight hours after the assassination the group of radical leaders who were later to control Congress and to make

the national policy met to draw plans for ridding the country of the Lincoln influence.

Reports of the meeting stated that "the hostility for Lincoln's policy of conciliation and contempt for his weakness" were "undisguised" and, as Bowers quotes in *The Tragic Era*, "the universal sentiment among radical men was that 'his death is a god-send to our cause.'"

More amazing still were the sermons preached on the Easter immediately after Lincoln's murder. Lloyd Lewis in *Myths After Lincoln* collected numerous sermons from representative preachers of that day. Some of the statements made are almost incredible today.

In Boston the Rev. Warren E. Cudworth was saying: "God may have seen that a sterner hand than his (Lincoln's) was needed to hold the helm of state during the next four years of reckoning and reconstruction."

The Rev. C. B. Crane of the South Baptist Church at Hartford said among other disparaging things: "Do you remember how our confidence in Abraham Lincoln was shaken when he went from Springfield to Washington making little speeches from the platform of the car all the way? Abraham

Lincoln's work is done. From the fourteenth of this April his work was done. From that time God had no further use for him in this position which he held. At that time God had use for Andrew Johnson. . . . There was danger that Lincoln would subordinate his executive function to his personal sympathies . . . that he would even pardon Davis and Stephens and Johnson and Lee if they should come into his power. . . .

"But Andrew Johnson, a man of nerve, has had his heart wrung under the iron heel of rebellion. His sense of justice is paramount to his tender sensibilities. I believe God has raised him up to bring this rebellion to the consummation of just retribution. It is not private revenge he will wreak but the vengeance of God, whose appointed minister he is."

Such were the expressions heard in many influential pulpits after Lincoln died. His policies were repudiated in Congress and in the country. Every plan associated with his name was under suspicion. Reconstruction became a needlessly bitter and tragic process because men abandoned Lincoln's policies. Today our national politics is still confused because of the hatreds of that era.

*over*

We forget Lincoln's heart-rending struggles and remember only the historic victory. Time, the great judge, was with the man of understanding mercy. Today men all over the world honor him for those same compassionate sympathies which made even the righteous men of his generation hostile to him.

This is not a new experience in human affairs. Since the earliest times the fathers have stoned the prophets and the children have built their sepulchers.

Now that the conflict is so far back in history we can see the issues clearly and the essential nobility of Lincoln stands out, overtowering the petty meannesses and hates of those who opposed him. The man who was despised and whose principles were flaunted has become the symbol of the best we hope to be.

We actually honor Lincoln, however, as our decisions and policies in our present affairs are determined by the broad understanding and generous sympathy which guided him.



THURSDAY.....FEBRUARY 13, 1930

*Courier-Journal*  
**STEVENS, NOT LINCOLN**

Today Republicans swear by the name of Lincoln, as Democrats swear by the name of Jefferson. Yet many who swear by Lincoln, like many who swear by Jefferson, have not the slightest conception of what they profess to swear by, so far as history or principles are concerned.

The majority of Republicans of Lincoln's day did not swear by Lincoln. If the Republicans of 1930 were representative of the Republicans of 1865 they would swear, not by Abraham Lincoln, but by Thad Stevens.

It was Thad Stevens, not Abraham Lincoln, who ruled the Republican Party then; Thad Stevens who spurned Lincoln's policy of sectional conciliation and reunion, and whose fierce, consuming purpose was to confiscate the property of the Southern whites, to place over them as rulers their former slaves and at the muzzle of the musket to hold the conquered Southern States as provinces, denied all rights of suffrage and sovereignty; Thad Stevens whose hatred of Lincoln was so great that he spent the closing years of his stormy life invoking the passions of hell in his effort to destroy Andrew Johnson because Johnson sought to carry out the patriotic policies of Lincoln.

It was not the spirit of Lincoln that shaped the history of the Republican Party then; it was the frenzied power of the desperate, indomitable Stevens, which drew, or whipped, to his heels the Republican leaders of the time, in the Pennsylvanian's dying crusade against all that Lincoln represented.

If there is one man to be canonized as the Republican saint of the 'Sixties it is Thad Stevens rather than Abraham Lincoln.

NEW YORK: Edgar Lee Masters, Illinois poet best known for his Spoon River Anthology, denounced the "Lincoln myth" to a New York Times interviewer, said that Lincoln was "hypocritical, slow-witted, vindictive and cold."

2nd Floor East

Mar 21/42



Aunt Lincoln

# Lincoln Goes Along With Boy Who Died



LIEUT. SWANK  
*He liked Lincoln.*

A torn bit of newspaper from a Feb. 12, 1941, News is treasured today by Mr. and Mrs. Walter R. Swank, 1400 Fairmont-st nw, parents of a paratrooper killed in Southern France.

Titled "The American Miracle," it is an editorial about Abraham Lincoln which nobody knew Lieut. Lawrence Swank carried until friends found it in his pocket, next to his parents' photo, that night of Aug. 17 when he was killed, four days after parachuting down behind Nazi lines.

## GRAVE UNMARKED

Lieut. Swank's grave was unmarked for security reasons. But an entire French village turned out for the burial of the boy who stood second in the class of '43 at West Point.

The editorial:

"He was born in bitter poverty and the legitimacy of his birth was long questioned. He had almost no formal schooling and was a day laborer most of his young manhood. He was so ugly and awkward that all his life this fact set him apart.

"He wrote some of the trashiest doggerel ever committed by any man. He was often unkempt and sweaty and his clothing never fitted him. He married a woman he did not love and his home was often a hell. His children were spoiled and brattish.

"He told dirty stories and bored his associates with long, pointless anecdotes. He was hated and despised by a large minority of his countrymen. He was condescended to, scolded and railed at by its intelligentsia.

"He was murdered by a man who believed that the deed was a service to the country.

## DEATH CAUSED SORROW

"The news of his death caused such world-wide sorrow as has never been matched in man's history, and within a few years he was generally acknowledged to have been the greatest man, the finest human being ever born of the Anglo-Saxon strain. And so he was.

"His name was Abraham Lincoln."



**3 Titles For the Price Of One**

# LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY or ABE WASN'T SO HOT or THE CIVIL WAR CONTINUES IN CHICAGO

During the period of the South Side fires when 12 Negro children were burned to death, a citizen wrote to the Daily News, words to this effect: "No sane person would bring a horse or a cow to our cold Chicago climate without previous knowledge that shelter would be available, because without assurance of this, the animal would surely die. Yet thousands of intelligent Negro families come here every month to risk their lives in firetraps. They bottle up in basements and attics, living no better than the rats who are their neighbors."

This man's point was that we are blaming the landlords, the city, the building department and everybody else for the inhuman condition which exists on the South Side, except the parties who created the trouble in the first place . . . the Negro newcomers themselves.

There is no question that this thoughtful citizen is right. If people would not rent attic flats, there would be no problem. But now that he has been proved right, where do we go from here? Will Negro families stop coming to Chicago because of the fire threat? We do not think so.

The Negro will be coming to Chicago (and this applies to Detroit, Boston and Cincinnati, as well) until there is no longer a single colored man left in Mississippi. For the Negro is not seeking more money and a more comfortable life alone. He is looking for something that is a lot more important to him . . . and he is willing to wait for the better house until he gets this first. The Negro family man is no happier with his two attic rooms than Fire Commissioner Quinn is about his being there. But while Quinn views with danger,

the Negro himself accepts his cross with equanimity. He knows well his long-range objectives and is willing to live in his miserable house as a part of the price he has to pay to get it.

The movement of the Negro to Chicago is merely a historic extension of his long fight for civil rights. He is willing to live in the Chicago slums because he can hope, that within his lifetime, he will achieve them by living here . . . regardless of the house in which he enjoys them. The better house will come later, after his

children get schooling. The intelligent Negro knows, after 50 years of trying, that he will never get his rights in the South. He has learned, too, that the temporary truce which occurred at Appomattox in 1865 did not prove anything, and merely paved the way to a series of shady deals designed to continue to deny these rights to him.

With February 12 just behind him, he has taken the many newspaper stories about his supposedly great champion—Lincoln—with a grain of pepper. And we say pepper rather than salt, because pepper irritates . . . and that's all that "Honest Abe" did for the situation. Perhaps the best example lies in the famous Emancipation Proclamation which is supposed to be the cornerstone of the Negro's liberty. Just a little examination proves that this high-sounding document did nothing at all for the Negro and was merely a political trick of a shrewd politician who had a tiger by the tail and did not know what to do with it. Freedom did not actually come to the Negro until the passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. If we want to celebrate a national civil rights day, which has certainly been in order for a long time, the date of the passage of the 15th Amendment is a lot more appropriate.

As it is, Lincoln's Birthday is not a holiday in the South at all, and the northern Negro who has bothered to study the facts knows he is being hoodwinked.

Abe Lincoln wrote some terrific speeches and letters, to which we can personally attest. When Frank Cale was an advertiser, he used to feed me, drinks to hear me declaim by heart the Gettysburg Address,

The Emancipation Proclamation, the Second Inaugural, and the letter to Mrs. Bixby. I know 'em all, and for free beer, I will gladly perform at any tavern in the neighborhood. As models of perfect literature they are unsurpassed. But as political speeches, which fireside chats . . . a lot of wind. they actually are, they are nothing more than Franklin Delano's later. When we boil them out of the man's record, we find that there is nothing left.

I wonder why some competent scholar has not undertaken a work that stays with the facts and not the imagination. The simple answer is that historians, too, like to write only books that sell, and "Honest Abe" has too good a commercial value for anyone to change the tune. But if you will support my kids and give me a fellowship I can write such a book . . . and it will demonstrate the documented fact that Lincoln was actually a trouble-maker, who after four million casualties on both sides, left the Negro a lot worse off than he was before. And also that he did no concrete work him-

self to achieve those civil rights for which the Negro is still fighting.

The intelligent colored man knows that he will have to fight for them alone and that his people would be a lot better off, had not politicians like Abe beclouded the issues. He has found that Chicago is a much more favorable location to conduct this battle, even if it does not have as favorable a climate or a house . . . and neither the building department nor the mayor are going to keep him from coming. The Bronzeville Hotel is not only a slum building. It is also a fortress of the Civil War, the continuation of which is occurring in Chicago at the present time. We hope that Mayor Daley shows better sense than President Lincoln by recognizing that the problem is too big for him.



"I do not agree with  
a word you say, but  
I will defend to my  
death your right to  
say it..."

—VOLTAIRE

**BAKED  
HASH**  
STRICTLY THE  
EDITOR'S  
COOKING



## You Can Have Abraham

Abe Lincoln is big business in Illinois. His name appears on every automobile license plate sold, and I suppose if somebody bothered to make the survey, they would find that every incorporated hamlet in the state probably has at least one school or street named after him. Such a feeling of local pride is natural for the state even if it is not borne out by the facts. Except for Grant who was a wash-out, Lincoln was the only president Illinois ever had.

Abe has become big business for many others, too. Anything with Abe's picture on it is sure to sell,

for he stands to all as a symbol of trust. If, for example, you are a poet nobody reads anymore, you can write a book on Lincoln, and suddenly you can command \$500.00 for a lecture, where before you could get no bookings. Or if you are a police commissioner, who barely finished high school, you can get an honorary degree as a "Lincoln scholar." And this, of course, is not meant to include the many individuals to whom Lincoln is actually bread and butter, such as if you are able to identify

Lincoln's nightgown or his truss. These things are always turning up and there are always "experts" around to identify them for a fee.

While I was not looking for a war with these lovers of Abraham, for a dollar we have had enough requests to justify our statement that "Honest Abe" wasn't all that he is cracked up to be, to explore the matter further. While the full treatment of the subject belongs in a book, rather than the 500 words to which we are limited here, some highlights can be pointed out. The most important is Lincoln's relatively short time on the national scene. Prior to 1858 nobody knew who he was. By 1865, less than seven years later he had already gotten himself elected to the highest office in the land, had thrown the country into a war which resulted in four million casualties (greater than the American casualties in World War II on a proportionate population basis) and, as an assassinated president became deified in the history books of the country.

As I have said, the great homage paid to Lincoln is based on his speeches, and these, when the circumstances which surround them are studied, are nothing but a lot of hot air. A much more factual insight would come from the circumstances under which Lincoln got elected in the first place... and this was a rabble-rouser. In 1858 Lincoln was that nobody of nobodies... a defeated politician. Every fair student of the Civil War must concede that Lincoln, more than any other person helped to bring the war on. (Read the third debate with Douglas.)

The issue of slavery was just as important and crucial for forty years before Abraham came on the scene. American history from 1820 to 1856 consists of a series of compromises made by the northern and southern states to prevent war. It is a credit to all the presidents of this period and the masterful senators Calhoun, Clay and Webster that, as reasonable men they were able to keep the conflict from coming to a head. The famous Lincoln debates with Douglas would have been a lot better if they did not happen, for through them, the south was raised to a fiery pitch. Because of the national prominence they gave to Lincoln, the minute he was elected, one Southern state seceded and by the time of his inauguration, six others had left. The first Inaugural address pretty well shows the nature of Lincoln, the politician.

Having gotten elected as the hero of the anti-slavery movement, he now says, "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no right to do so and I have no inclination to do so." Then asking the Southern states to come back, the address closes with, "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection." While we view this rhetoric today as great literature, the southerners to whom this was addressed trusted Lincoln as much as we trust Krushchev.

And when the war was inevitable. Lincoln's total ineptitude as a leader showed up. Only this week, Churchill, the most pre-eminent historian living today, points out in a LIFE Magazine that the fault for the tremendous failing of Union leadership in the war, lies in Lincoln's office... and not on the battle-field. From the beginning of the war, to its miserable conclusion, Lincoln proved only that he was a master of fine speeches and a commander-in-chief of nobody.

Having conducted many such events in my experience, as a teacher of history and English in the Chicago High Schools, I know that at least twenty such schools in Chicago, during February, conducted debates treating the subject of whether Franklin Delano was as great a president as "Honest Abe." My answer to that one

is that the comparison, at least is good. They were both a couple of phonies.

We have been asked, also, why we do not let sleeping dogs lie, and if the people want to believe the fairy tales that are told about Abraham, why not let them.

There is a reason for this, too. No newspaperman can do this and be honest with himself. In addition to his inept handling of the war, the record also shows that he closed down more than twenty newspapers who justly criticized his conduct of the war.



## Knockers in High Places



HE aquafortis acerbities passed out by politicians towards one another really mean little.

Think of the men and women who were put in the Ananias Club by an ex-President! Does anybody for a moment imagine that the founder of the Ananias Club has any greater regard for truth than the ones upon whom he has clapped the brand of Cain?

Wendell Phillips, one of the great men of his time, denounced Abraham Lincoln over and over again with slashing phrase. For three years Horace Greeley carried at the head of his editorial column a paragraph in contempt and disparagement of Lincoln. ¶ The business of a politician seems to be to vilify his competitors. But through the opposition of forces the world is held in place and swings along in her orbit in the same old way. The moral of it all is, don't take any man's tales of any other man seriously, for the bigger the man the more insignificant and worthless are his estimates, where his own interests are at stake. A man's criticisms of other men are valuable chiefly as comment on his own mental make-up. When a man's own affairs are involved, the quality of mercy makes a cut for cover; and what he says often causes the Goddess of Justice to blush for shame.

### The Anvil Chorus

AS for a great writer's estimate of another let me loan you a little literary confetti. Carlyle wrote of Wordsworth:

"A man of immense head, and great jaws like a crocodile's. It was his habit to talk whatever was in his mind at the time, with total indifference to the impression it produced on his hearers. He kept discoursing on how far you could get carried out of London on this side and on that for sixpence."

And Walter Savage Landor wrote of Lord Brougham:

"What other man, within the walls of Parliament, however hasty, rude and petulant, hath exhibited such manifold instances of bad manners, bad feeling, bad reasoning, bad language, and bad law?"

Jeffrey wrote of Byron:

"It appears as if this miserable little man,

having exhausted every species of sensual gratification—having drained the cup of sin even to its bitterest dregs—were resolved to show us that he is no longer a human being, even in his frailties, but a cool, unconcerned fiend, laughing with a detestable glee over the whole of the better and worse elements of which human life is composed—treating with well-nigh equal derision the most pure of virtues and the most odious of vices—dead alike to the beauty of the one and to the deformity of the other—a mere heartless despiser of that frail but noble humanity whose type was never exhibited in a shape of more deplorable degradation than in his own contemptuously distinct delineation of himself." ❧ ❧

Taine says of Carlyle:

"He writes splendidly, but it is neither truth nor poetry."

Jane Welsh Carlyle wrote of her husband:

"No one could have a more Christian resignation to the sufferings of others."

Emerson said of Dickens:

"Like Cooper and Hawthorne, he has no dramatic talent. The moment he attempts dialogue, the improbability of life hardens to wood and stone. And the book begins and ends without a poetic ray, and so perishes in the reading."

Tolstoy on Shakespeare:

"Open Shakespeare wherever you like, or wherever it may chance, you will see that you will never find ten consecutive lines which are comprehensible, unartificial, natural to the character that says them and which produce an artistic impression.

"The works of Shakespeare—borrowed as they are and externally like mosaics, artificially fitted together piecemeal from bits invented for the occasion—have nothing whatever in common with art and poetry.

"However absurd it may appear in my rendering (which I have endeavored to make as impartial as possible), I may confidently say that in the original *King Lear* is yet more absurd. It is a very bad, carelessly composed production, which can not evoke amongst us anything but aversion and weariness. Every reader of our time who is free from the influence of suggestion will also receive exactly the same impression from all the other extolled dramas of Shakespeare, not to mention the senseless dramatized tales, *Pericles*,





